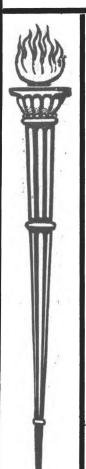
THE VANGUARD

MARCH, 1903

DEVOTED TO THE BEST THINGS IN LIFE AND LITERATURE



HAT I must do is all that concerns me, and not what the people think. This rule, equally as arduous in actual as in intellectual life, may serve for the whole distinction between greatness and meanness. It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after your own; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.

-Emerson.

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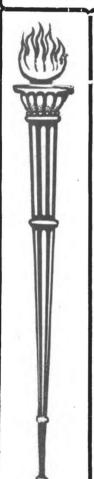
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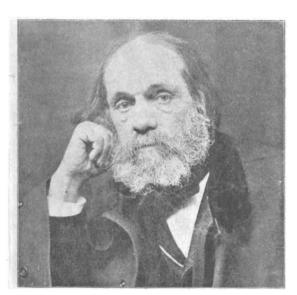
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EDITED BY J. M. A. SPENCE

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EUWARD EVERETT HALE.

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VOL. 1

NOVEMBER, 1902

NO. 1

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THE VANGUARD

"They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of Truth."

VOL. 1.

NOVEMBER, 1902.

NO. 1.

TODAY AND TOMORROW

By GERALD MASSEY.

'Tis weary watching wave by wave, And yet the tide heaves onward; We climb, like corals, grave by grave That pave a pathway sunward. We're driven back in many a fray, Yet never strength we borrow, And where the vanguard camps to-

The rear shall rest tomorrow. Through all the long, dark night of

The people's cry ascendeth; The earth is wet with blood and tears. But our meek sufferance endeth: The few shall not forever swav. The many moil in sorrow; The powers of hell are strong today, But Christ shall reign tomorrow.

Though hearts brood o'er the past, our eves

With smiling futures glisten: For, lo! our day bursts up the skies: Lean out your souls and listen. The world rolls freedom's radiant way. And ripens with her sorrow: And'tis the martyrdom today, Brings victory tomorrow.

Then youth flame-earnest, still aspire With energies immortal; To many a haven of desire, Your yearning opes a portal; And though age wearies by the way, And hearts break in the furrow. Well sow the golden grain today.-

The harvest comes tomorrow.

THE VANGUARD

By REV. SAMUEL T. CARTER.



HAT grand man, Dr. Norman McLeod, wrote some who are in the vanguard. lines of which these were the beginning,

"Thank God there's still a vanguard Fighting for the right."

General Sherman tells

to be at the front. There is a great out of hearing. deal of truth in that theologically as wonder why it is not so theologically;

well as army-wise. Happy are they

A friend of mine has been in one of the New York hospitals, and as always I have been struck by the bright and forward look of everything there. The best men are chosen by hard examination, the instruments are of us in his autobiography the finest; the equipments as nearly that he always thought perfect as they can be made. All is the battle was lost when new and fresh and of the best. he was in the rear, but gained confi- some one were to rise and propose dence as he went to the front. He that they go back to the old ways and said that old soldiers always preferred drop the new, he would be laughed-And I constantly

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why the old is so much preferred and appear, very much greater ecstasy in the fresh and new looked at askance. God and truth than have ever entered There was a most beautiful modifica- into the heart of man to conceive. tion of Presbyterian theology made May they all hasten their coming! at the last General Assembly, but May we hold our hearts and hands how long and bitterly it was resisted, and homes and churches open for and yet how happy all felt when it them. "I have many things to say was completed. It is a lesson for us unto you, but ye cannot bear them all, to hold our minds open, to be now." But that was two thousand ready to welcome with warm hearts years ago. the better whenever it comes, in short, now? to be in the vanguard! There is very much truth yet to break forth from magazine to be called THE VANclearer revelation of eternal life in conquer." Christ than we have ever allowed to

Cannot we bear them

I rejoice therefore greatly in a God's word, and we are the people to GUARD and founded on the idea of greet it with hosanaas, never to the "religion of love and service threaten it with crucifixion. There which Jesus lived and taught, and to are very much finer views of God make the Christ-spirit dominant in than the world has ever accepted, our lives." This is the true religion, very much warmer love to man than and we say to the editor as the vision man has ever known, very much said to Constantine, "In this sign,

NEW YORK CITY.

THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE

By RALPH ALBERTSON.



D you ever dream about a church that would be great enough not to be located, nor spectacular, nor insured of permanency by any form of propertyownership, nor by the self-interests of sacerdotalism, but that should be built upon a Great

Truth?-a church that could not live one day after it had forgotten its truth, and could never become an obstacle of progress ?-a church that would die if it ought to die, and thereby live forever ?- a church that would dare to be simply, and nothing more than, a spiritual presence in human society?

Did you ever dream about a church that would be great enough not to reputation protect itself and its

and its social standing against socalled "unbelievers" ?-a church great enough in spirit to recognize all faith, to be perturbed by no heresy, and to modulate all the discordant sounds harmony?-a church great enough to disregard its own life in its regard for the higher life of the world?

Did you ever dream about a church whose only life and work would be the making of music that should be the gladness of the world? needs to be made glad. That's the way to make it good. It needs joy and sunshine and cheer and life. needs the greatest possible amount of the truest possible happiness. needs to laugh. It needs hope, love and enthusiasm. Your children and mine do not need damnation. They do not need to be terrorized into piety. Nor do they need to think less of

on making good-for-nothings by our you are, potentially. religious philosophy. "Just as I am" divinely noble. as i" is a bad habit. People of true ever dreamed of. culture should know better and do selves as children of God.

but a holy thing. The flesh is not made the world's progress, and to do nothing, and to be-very world. little at most. Desire under control not to be maligned, but glorified; not the vision of those who have faith.

Self-depreciation is a denied, but fulfilled; not replaced by worn-out grace. If they over-estim- another nature, but developed along ate their smartness, the over-estima- the lines of its highest promise into tion will be taken out of them by the unbounded glory of incarnate natural and sure process. But, on deity. Human nature is intended for the other hand, if they under-estim- this. It isn't a mistake. It is the ate themselves, they are just so far finest Work of evolution, and the destroyed or dead. We must not go truest Word of God. This is what Your nature is God has not "reis laziness; and "Oh! to be nothing" pented" having you on earth. There is anti-Christian; and "Such a worm is more good in you than you have

Really this is the religion of today better than to promote such a frame and of tomorrow. Its faith arises in of mind. The depravity doctrine dis- the contemplation of universal good. heartens high aspiration, separates Its hope is founded on that integrity us from the heavens, and denies all and fundamental rightness which are the pleasures of God's home-life to in the nature of things, and reaches the people who ought to know them- forward to the ideal in human life. Its love is the native air of human The heart's desire is not a wicked, nature, and it encompasses all men.

How incomparably happy people foul, but pure. The world is not a would be if they could but know what devil's, but God's. Wisdom is not evil, infinitely glorious beings they are-if The heart's desire has they could but see the progress made The and making, the certain triumph of heart's desire is not mere selfishness, the right and true, and the good in It is a going of self out into the everything-if they could but hear world. It is a giving of self. To be the harmony and see the beauty and without desires is to give nothing believe in the integrity of God's

The church of the future will make is most indispensable to life. That it all men see this vision. Such a be under control, is quite as necessary church is already here. We have no as that steam or electricity be under ability to build a fence around it, nor control, but that it is unholy is a even to give it a name. The purtheological falsehood. Human nature pose of THE VANGUARD is to disis the holiest and noblest product of cover and reveal this church to the creative genius and power. It needs eyes of the unbelieving as well as to

LEWISTON, ME.

There is religion in everything around us; a calm and holy religion in the unbreathing things of nature which man would do well to imitate. It is a meek and blessed influence, stealing in, as it were, unawares upon the heart. It comes quietly and without excitement; it has no terror, no gloom in its approaches.

--RUSKIN.

IN THE PROCESSION

By GEORGE E. LITTLEFIELD.



to come! The city is in gala dress. Flags are flying from the flag-poles and from the great public Feestoons of buildings. the bunting, sheening red, white and blue, gaily color the many-storied business places — from

windows and roofs the bright hues vie with the rich foliage against sky. The sidewalks radiant The continuous lines are thronged. friendpeople--all emotional, ly, expectant-contrast advantageously in the sunlight with flags and the bunting in their beautiful zephyrlike animation. Now the sound of approaching music is heard. "They're coming! they're coming! Here they come!" The cry is taken up along the miles of people. They grow more compact; craning their heads forward; more faces crowd the open windows; they and those on the grand stands catch sight of the big drummajor who appears conspicuous even behind the mounted police. Make way!" these good-natured chargers command. Then comes the stirring strain of the march and the rhythmic tramp of the marchers. The dignitaries pass and now tramp, tramp, tramp, the strong men, the

AITING for the procession the next approaching division. O the inspiring, strident flutes! How the cornets and trombones join in, and the snare drums, and the deep bass drums booming all along! Oh, how can we resist keeping step with the procession l If some one at the farther end of the sidewalk line would only start, everybody would march. But, we stand and gaze while the blood leaps from heart to arteries and only our souls go marching on. The third, fourth, fifth, tenth, twentieth companies pass, and our eyes never tire of the pageant. Only when the last marcher—the old man in threadbare coat, with a bit of a limp, but carrying a banner proudly, surrounded by the motley rear guard of gamins and a scurrying dog here there - only when the and marcher passes and the last big drum becomes a fainting "pom--pom--pom, pom, pom," do we draw a long sigh and find ourselves mingling homeward with the dissolving, chaotic crowd. The procession is past. We have seen it-one of the great sights of a lifetime-and we are glad we have seen. it, glad we waited all the long hour in our place and bore the hustle and crush, because if it were not for us to be among those in the procession, we could be onlookers and cheerers and sharers in the inspiration of it all.

But, were we not in the procession? selected ones, in companies and socie- Are we not always in the glorious ties decked with uniforms and flags Procession of Life-in the mighty and banners are passing. "Hurrah! Procession of Humanity? It seems hurrah! hurrah!" Hear the cheering to me that this is the grander pagin ovation to the great man whom eant, this the most splendid sight. the city is honoring or, perhaps the All nature composes the scene; all cheering is wholly for the gallant history the vast background, all art marchers, tramping now to the vi- and religion and education and play brant bass of the band ahead as it and business and war are varied acblends with the increasing notes of companiments and decorations, and

hymn and now lost in the distance, reverberation of traffic and manufac- rear? Wave a cheer. ment of man! Waved over inous thy steps made rhythmic by the only keep on marching!

out beyond the sunshine, through the heavenly realm. valley of shadows with muffled drums, on toward the future, we are journey- HAVERHILL, MASS.

each day of sunlight and shadow, filled ing on to destiny, to the City of God. with the sounds of its doings, divides Where are you; where am I just now? the shifting on-coming and off-vanish- The procession of man reaches from ing sections of our race procession as earth to heaven, from animaldom to reviewed by Time. Out of the distant to angel-home, from protoplasm to past comes the procession of Man. God. What position in the wouderful The creatures from the jungle and line is ours, O comrade? Many are along the traversed route looked on infinitely beyond; many are back in the marvellous sight; the lions roared, obscurity; some are next to the great the elephants trumpeted, the heavens leaders and hear the fife of hope and flashed and thunder rolled, and Man and the trill clarion triumph; and marched on from his origin along the some hear no note—the reveille of life unending line of ascent. When the has not yet sounded for them. At the wild creatures were mostly left be- front are Jesus, and Gautama, and hind, the piping of birds and the Moses, and Plato, and Alfred the mothers' lullabies made the music of Great, and Joan of Arc, and all the his march, music always fainting and greatest; and way back, shambling reviving with the mingling battle along with the creatures from the songs now overpowering the pastoral caves and slums for companions, are the stragglers of the long procession. giving way to the loudening hum and Do you feel sorry for those at the ture as the great human procession it? Never mind. The procession of enters the modern cities for its Twen- man is moving. By and by those tieth Century review. Procession of ahead will have advanced and those processions! O mighty onward move- midway will have reached the present by leaders' position and received their heaven's gala banner whereon are signals, and the rear will have reachrainbow stripes by day and spang- ed the central place and caught the ling stars by night! O marchers cheer; all,in turn, shall press on to made dazzling by the luminous orbs of the ever advancing posts. Where are the universe! O mankind multitud- you? Where am I? Never mind, moments, and the shouts and glee, the with the procession! Some day we'll sighs and cries, the commands and hear the grander music. Some day prayers of the moments! O Proces- we'll thrill to higher cheering. Some sion of the Human Race, viewed by day we'll march into the City of God. The Ancient of Days and all his celes- Then every soul in the great procestial hosts with joy!—gladly saluting! sion, you and I, too, comrade, will be You and I are in this procession, decorated with the badge of divine We are marching along, marching royalty and given the freedom of the

So. comrade, let's march along!

If some hollow creed you doubt, If some nobler creed you see, Though the whole world hoot Though the world say, and shout. Doubt it.

"Let it be," See it.



WHO IS A SOCIALIST?

By ELLA WHEELER WILCOX

Who is a Socialist? He is a man Who strives to formulate or aid a plan To better earth's conditions. It is he Who, having ears to hear and eyes to see, Is neither deaf nor blind when might, rough-shod, Treads down the rights and privileges which God Means for all men; the privilege to toil,
To breathe pure air, to till the fertile soil—
The right to live, to love, to woo, to wed,
And earn for hungry mouths their meed of bread. The Socialist is he who claims no more Than his own share from generous nature's store, But that he asks, and asks, too, that no other Shall claim the share of any weaker brother, And brand him beggar in his own domain To glut a mad, inordinate lust for gain. The Socialist is one who holds the best Of all God's gifts is toil—the second, rest; He asks that all men learn the sweets of labor, And that uo idler fatten on his neighbor. That all men be allowed their share of leisure, Nor thousands slave that one may seek his pleasure. Who on the Golden Rule shall dare insist-Behold in him the modern Socialist.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

By REV. W. A. VROOMAN.



the physical weapons. tools and defences of other animals. Physically he is the most helpless of all creatures. He has neither

the bird, nor the strength of the lion. been ruthlessly crushed. But he who has reason requires not been so in every department of life. ures. He who can make clubs, axes, swords, rifles and machine guns does not need an arsenal as part of his anatomy. He enters into the conflict with intelligence to subdue and use

Nendowing him with reason and cast upon his own resources he nature deprived man of becomes an inventor aad weapons and tools for himself.

Men began life by starting upon a career of fighting. From boomerang to battleship, from plowshare to blasting furnace, their history has been one of universal warfare. In the the speed of the horse, battle for bread and luxury, force the horn of the ox, the and fraud have been the chief means ear of the deer, the eye of of conquest and the weakest have the rude weapons of the lower creat- In politics, industry, commerce, society--and even in religion also-the controlling maxim has been, "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." This rule of selfishall the forces of nature in his service ness is proclaimed in every hoof and

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horn, every fang and claw, every club struggle is unmoral. All enter into and gun of all creation.

nature is evidence of blood relation- The unscrupulous shark meets no has acquired this by a Fall from and the sea no vision of moral law, no primeval goodness or finds it as an sense of sin, no heroic pursuit of a evidence of his pedigree; whether or- spiritual ideal for a moment paralyzes thodoxy or evolution give the time paw or fire in the pursuit of prey. The explanation the ugly fact remains, morally superior are not disarmed by This spirit develops under the condi-their high principles and sacrificed tions of social strife into the many to the fury of the wicked. Evolution malignant types of rapacity and may proceed according to the relentcruelty which characterize the human less law of competition for moral elestruggle for existence, for wealth, for ments have not yet entered to complipower and for pleasure.

that this ancient method is the di-calamity in human society. and tends to the survival of the fittest. only result in brutalizing men. The method has been good for beasts, is precisely what we observe. might improve brutehood and make of a devout religious faith. order to subjugate the weak to the of the earth to Force and Fraud. strong and to cheat the innocent if it fraud. ine order to legislation!

But in the evolution of the animal can produce a title-deed to

the warfare for existence upon equal The brutish selfishness in human terms of freedom from moral law. ship with the jungle. Whether man conscientious whaler. In the jungle cate the problem. This same method There are some who still contend however, may work only disaster and vinely ordered law for society. They evolution conducted upon lines of dignify it by calling it "competition." strife and competition may crush In the jungle in is ferocity and bruta- those higher elements of character tality but among men it is only "com- which distinguish men from brutes. petition." The defenders of this sys- Moral confusion and degradation must tem say that this method has for ages result. The practice of the same weeded out the biologically imperfect method among men and brutes can why should it fail with men? It does versal competition a tender conscience not seem to occur to these biological or a sensitive heart is a disadvantage sociologists that a method which to be sustained only by the exercise the lion king of the jungle, might cannot be the divine order of human brutalize manhood and make a Bona- society which sacrifices the weak to parteking of men. If it be the divine the strong and gives the inheritance

Another fact should be noticed. In be the div- the jungle and the sea competition is plunge society in- in the open field. All creatures enter to universal warfare, social, military the arena upon equal terms. Not one and industrial and to crown despots suffers a disadvantage through the as the favorites of God-then let the legal documents of another or the maddening struggle continue. Let legislative blunders and crimes of the the apostles and martyrs perish and past. Not one comes into the tournathe poor swelter in the slums! Let ment with any royal prerogatives or Nero reign and monopoly control special privileges, with any monopolies or hereditary wealth. No salmon world there are no moral problems mouth of the Frazer or Columbia for the brutes to solve. There are river nor a mortgage on any of the no compunctious of conscience. The tributaries. No Sir Pelican Omnivpublic grant secured a monopoly of life cannot be Christian.

The battle of naked Indians with human race. American machine guns is not a fair

A civilization developed on this make it an industrial fact.

orous, distinguished capitalist from principle of struggle for existence Salmonopolis, ever by political pullor and competition for the benefits of the free waters of his race, with and inhumanity must result. The law power to exact tribute to the full pay- of the jungle and the sea work ill ing ability of his serfs. The free com- among men. We have tried it for a petitions of nature are not restricted long time and many nations have by any of the laws, precedents and perished in the practice of it. The traditions of civilization. Whatever results are now seen in the slums of natural advantages there may be our cities, in drunkenness and crime. in found in universal competition can poverty and prostitution, in the strife be secured only in the fair field of between labor and capital, in comnature. The conditions for securing mercial frauds and political corrupany such advantages are absent from tion, in the increase of wealth and in human society. Competition among anxieties which eat out the heart and men is not upon fair and equal terms. happiness from nine-tenths of the

According to Christ, the ancient fight. It can only be a massacre. Nor law which was in force through ages is commercial and industrial competi- of animal evolution must not be tion today upon any fairer terms. obeyed by men. The social philosophy What chance has one poor working- of Christianity is spelled in four man in a conflict with a corporation? letters-L-O-V-E. According to this, What hope of success has a small human society can reach perfection capitalist in competition with a and happiness, only by dropping the Trust? The strong, through natural military and industrial methods of ability or by hereditary privileges, warfare, and by uniting all men or by fortunate speculation or by pur- in the co-operations of Love. The chased legislation or by private con- world learns this lesson but slowtrol of collective wealth, is given un-ly. Experience is teaching men the fair advantages, which destroy fair wisdom which they refused to learn competition and establish a new kind from Christ or any social philosopher. The centralization of The experience of men is driving them wealth which is proceeding with such to Socialism as a means to escape the amazing rapidity shows how rapidly evils of plutocracy. Industrial demoreal competition is being destroyed. cracy is following fast on political The end of the process naturally is democracy. Liberty seems only a the cooperation of the powerful in the phantom to multitudes without it. subjugation and exploitation of the Christianity theoretically proclaims Brotherhood, and Socialism would

TWO OF A KIND

The rights and interests of the American colonists will be looked after and cared for not by the agitators and rebels, but by the kind Christian gentlemen who I, as the direct representative of God, have appointed to look after my lands in the western control of the property interests of world.—King George.

The rights and interests of the laboring men will be looked after and cared for, not by the agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God, in His infinite wisdom, has given the

CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

By FATHER THOS. J. HAGERTY.



o the average man, especially when he chances to be a small capitalist, the term "class-consciousness" spells the passion of sullen toil against all that world which lies above the grime and wretchedness of field and factory, and throbs with the blind fury of the worker who

knows no hope save in the ruin of things. He looks upon Socialism, therefore, as a dangerous force whose chief function is to stir up envy and hate in the brains of workingmen against the rich in high places. The truth is that he measures all things with the rule of self-interest and holds the larger concept of brotherhood harmless enough in theory but most baneful when its practise would touch the hoards of commerce.

Class-consciousness, in reality, simply means the recognition of the basic equality of all labor as the source of wealth and the fundamental right of every man to the full product of his toil, as against

"the sordid lust of self,
The grovelling hope of interest and
gold,
Unqualified, unmingled, unredeemed

Even by hypocrisy.

The need for this class-consciousness grows out of the fact that the machine is rapidly breaking up the aristocracies of trade and absorbing the skill of the most exclusive crafts. Labor, or human effort intelligently directed in the production of wealth, is becoming a common factor irrespective of the mode and cleverness of its application. Class-consciousness seeks to bring this fact home to the highly-skilled mechanic as well as to

"The slaves by force or famine driven Beneath a vulgar master, to perform A task of cold and brutal drudgery;— Hardened to hope, insensible to fear, Scarce living pulleys of a dead machine,

Mere wheels of work and articles of trade

That grace the proud and noisy pomp of wealth."

When all these fully understand their absolute interdependence and their common rights as wealth-producers, they become conscious of their solidarity as a class. This consciousness, however, is not final in its effect; for it is only an unifying guidance to that victory in the class-struggle between labor and capital, between producers and non-producers which must eventually wipe out all class distinctions.

The triumph of the wage-workers over the hosts of interest, rent and profit will leave only one class into which all men must be enrolled-the the class of workers. Provincial and national differences will no longer dominate the affairs of the world. Patriotism, as we now understand it, will vanish. It is only an exaggerated class-struggle; and it has its origin in the battle of one nation against another for industrial supremacy. It is, in its very essence, a denial of the immanent humanity of all peoples and of the cosmic rights of every son of God. Under Socialism it must give way to the universal brdtherhood of

Class-consciousness must broaden out into race-consciousness. The war of man against man must cease and peace enfold the nations in a world-fellowship of wealth and happiness.

Van Buren, Ark.

He serves all who dares be true.

-Emerson.

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MENTAL THERAPEUTICS

By HERBERT A. PARKYN, M. D., C. M.



T is a common belief among charlatanry. physicians who lack knowledge of Suggestive of Therapeutics. that cures of genuine troubles are made by such forms of treatment as Christian Science, etc. They will admit that this sect is growing stronger every

year and that many of the wealthiest and most influential persons are joining the Metaphysical Movement; notwithstanding, they say "Oh, it is only a fad which will soon die out. These healers may be curing hypochondriacs, hysterical or emotional persons suffering from imaginary complaints, but they do not cure genuine physical ailments, and the failures which will naturally follow their attempts to treat genuine troubles will system of healing!"

laboring under the greatest error of his life-one which, unless removed, is likely to affect his pocket-book and his success in the near future.

Christian or Mental Science, and every cure convinces hundreds of treatment, that circumstance in that special form of healing, even gets the credit for the cure. though it be generally decried as a

Systems of natural, drugless forms healing are springing up and spreading at a terrific rate. Every fair sized town or city in the union has its Schools of Magnetic Healing, Christian Science, Hypnotism. Vitapathy, Osteopathy, etc., and curious as it may seem, the aggregate number of students in attendance at these schools in a year, is almost double the aggregate attendance at the medica schools in this country. Every graduate from these schools locates somewhere, and through the liberty of the press and other forms of printer's ink, is surrounded by a clientele in a month or two, that the average young physician is not likely to secure in several years of ethical practice.

To be sure, the majority of patients who seeks relief from these drugless soon sound the death knell of this systems of healing, are sufferers from chronic troubles. Many of these pat-Let me say to any physician who ients are cured, and most of them demay be holding such belief, that he is clare they receive some benefit. If a patient be cured of a chronic trouble by one of these healers, his relatives and friends seek that healer when suffering from acute troubles; believ-Every day brings forth hundreds of ing that if it is possible for a healer cures of genuine troubles which are to cure a chronic trouble, he certaincredited to the subtle workings of ly will have no difficulty in removing an acute one. The healer, in short order, has his offices with cases of people that after all, there may be every description and rapidly builds some good in it. The average laymen a great reputation, for the majority is unacquainted with the causation of acute troubles, as every physician and cure of disease, and if a friend knows, will disappear without the ashas been cured by any system of sistance of any system of healing is whatever. But if a healer has had sufficient to arouse a belief in his anything to do with an acute case. mind that there must be some virtue and the patient recovers, the healer

From the observations I have been

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able to make, and the reports I have prediction I made be verified. The received, I find that the Mental Scientists, Magnetic Healers, etc., all over the country, seem to be uniformly successful from a financial point of view; and they are able to obtain giltedged testimonials from most of the people whom they have treated.

Many years ago, after I had demonstrated to my entire satisfaction the value of suggestion as a therapeutic agent, I predicted that unless our medical colleges instituted a course in Suggestive Therapeutics, and unless graduated physicians took up the be successful, and physicians who do study of Medical Psychology, the not understand suggestive therapeutime would come when laws restrict- tics fail in many instances in which a the practice of medicine to graduates mental healer would be successful. of regular medical colleges, would The proper system is a combined one, become a thing of the past. That and a physician who has a knowledge this prediction was not chimerical, is of suggestion is the master and superalready manifest, for today there are ior of a healer without medical train-"healers" of every description, in ing, or a physician without a knowtown and state in the Union, and the medical laws are uniformly powerless ten average physicians be asked what to prevent them from practising, they think about suggestive theraof one Occasionally we hear these healers being convicted for is a fake, or a fad, and that they have practising without a license from the not time to investigate such nonsense. dred have been permitted to continue practising, and a dozen have come to take the place of the convicted one.

At the present moment a movement is on foot among the mental, magnetic, and other healers, to form a national union for mutual protection. When this union is formed (as doubtless it will be) it will represent greater numerical strength than the physicians of the United States do; must have the rascal arrested!" and when the scores of followers of the states the medical acts have been else from using them.

other Richmond is in the field, and there is but one thing left for our physicians to do, i. e., to study the force by which these healers make their cures, and employ it themselves. When they do this, and teach their followers what suggestion is, and how these healers make their Christian Science, Magnetic Healing, etc., will die a natural death; for these systems of healing fail in many instances in which a physician would city, in every ledge of suggestive therapeutics.

It has been my experience that if of peutics, nine of them will say that it state board of health; but where one Poor fellows! It is just this narrowof them has been convicted, a hun-minded bigotry that has brought about this crisis. They refuse to study the law of suggestion and employ it, still they wish to prosecute any one who attempts without a license to use it. A contemporary humorcusly signifies the situation in this way,

> First doctor: "There's a new psychologist in town curing lots of people."

Second doctor: "Is that so?

Imagine what the laity would say if each healer are added to the number, the doctors refused to employ either it is very evident our conservative chloroform or ether, or to investigate physicians will have a tough propositheir merits for surgical operations, Already in several of and passed laws to prevent any one vetoed, and the more these healers having tamiliarized themselves with are prosecuted, the sooner will the the advantages of these wonderful

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blessings, would rise up in their Physicians are not the class who wrath and crush upon to pronounce for or against it.

such conserva- will be permitted to pass final judgtism. Now this is exactly what is be- ment on the practice of the healing ing done with suggestive therapeutics. art. The hundreds of thousands of The laymen are familiarizing them- Christian Scientists, Magnetic Healselves with the subject and are heal- ers, Neuropathists. Hypnotists, etc., ing and being healed by it in various with their legions of followers, will guises, and they will soon be called certainly have something to say in the matter. CHICAGO, ILL.

THE NEW DAY.

By REV. EDWARD E. HALE.

Men will not be content to live ern phrase. They will bear each oth the common wealth,—this is the mod- Righteousness.

every man for himself, nor to die er's burdens,-this is the phrase of every man for himself. In work, in Paul. They will live the life of art, in study, in trade, -- in all life, in- Love. And it will prove true, as it deed,—the children of God, called by was promised, that all things are ada Saviour's voice, will wish to live in ded to the community which thus the common cause. They will live for seeks the Kingdom of God and His

ON THE FIRING LINE

By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD.



We are trying to get Socialism?" people to see that Sociupon modern evolution-

ary science, that it does not attack religion nor the family; and that it aims to do for economic freedom what the men of 1776 did for political freedom.

Do you know-That the organizers of the Socialist party in ten states are ministers?

-That every sixth voter in Milwau* boygan are socialists?

Socialist?

WHAT are we trying to "the next great political struggle do "on the firing line?" will be between republicanism and

Everybody is talking Socialism alism is purely an econ- since the coal trouble. Some omic proposition, based of the people don't know it. Socialists are putting their tags on the demand for government ownerership of the coal mines everywhere.

> The shots that count. Industrial Tyranny, owing to "property rights;" Panics, owing to the profit system and "over-production;" and Immorality, owing to competition and the "survival of the fittest."

Here is the "incentive" business kee, and every third voter in She- boiled down. There are three incentives, the stomach incentive, the -That there are whole election honor incentive, and the mastery indistricts in Pennsylvania that have centive. The first two will always opno ticket in the field this fall but the erate. The last one is out of date, does harm to all, and ought to be -That Mark Hanna prophesies that eliminated. Socialism will eliminate

it and stand for the incentive of honor. Its measure of manhood is as now. The conditions are ripening bigger than a "dinner pail."

Say! you fellows that do not believe in Socialism-what book on scientific tory made within the socialism have vou read? You don't even criticise Mrs. Eddy without at least trying to read her book.

Socialists have a shrewd suspicion that President Roosevelt has been "on the firing line" of late, and has found use for all the nerve he had.

We don't expect to elect our candidates in Wisconsin this year, but we do expect to put up a vote big enough to serve as a splendid object-lesson in the educational campaign that begins Nov. 5th.

Speaking of "object-lessons," Socialists are under so many obligations to President Baer, that some of them call him "Comrade Baer."

Tell it not in Gath! The principal compaign speech of the Milwaukee Socialists was delivered in the Grand Avenue Congregational Church, by comrade Eugene V. Debs.

Old party ties were never as fragile for another political landslide.

There is likely to be some new hisnext months. Watch Congress and the Coal Trust.

Wanted: One "millionaire socialist" for every state in the Union, to furnish funds for an educational campaign, which shall insure a peaceful solution of the trust problem. This



is really life insurance for these same millionaires, because if violence should ever break out, the French Revolution would be child's play beside the scenes that would occur.

New recruits are appearing in the field constantly. One of the latest is the Rev. G. H. Marsh of Plymouth, Wis., who recently preached a sermon expounding and approving Socialism.

AT THE FRONT.

RELIGION'S REAL DANGER

By FRANCES POWER COBBE.

that its accredited teachers should do this. so persistently cloak it and wrap it in their theologies. But the masses side, lies in the simple truth.

There is but one real danger to of mankind, the busy, hard-tried men which Religion can be exposed. It is, of the field and the office, will never

They will make away with the whole up in the garb of error that men will matter (so far as man may ever make strive to kill it as a foe, when, if they away with religion), if their teachers but saw it in its own garments, they will obstinately go on forcing down would welcome it to their hearts. Edu- their throats the doctrines they have cated men, calm, studious, passionless once seen to be errors along with men of leisure, may go on patiently those eternal truths they would fain year after year, dividing in their own accept and feed upon as the bread of minds the credible and the incredible life. Safety here as in all things be-

No one could tell me where my Soul might be. I searched for God but God eluded me.

I sought my brother out, and found all three.—Ernest H. Crosby.

Applaud us when we run; Console us when we fall; Cheer us when we recover; But for God's sake let us pass on.



The Vanguard

WE BELIEVE IN THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD; IN THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN; IN THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH; IN CONTINUOUS INSPIRATION; IN PROGRESSIVE REVELATION; IN SPIRITUAL UNFOLDMENT; IN MORAL BYO-LUTION; IN MENTAL HARMONY; IN PHYSICAL HEALTH; AND IN THE KINGDOM OF GOD, HERE AND NOW AND EVERYWHERE AND ALWAYS,

With the Editor



WHAT WE STAND FOR

The aim of this magazine is to promote clear thinking and right action in relation to the great social and religious questions of the day. In hearty sympathy with all seekers after truth and workers for human betterment, THE VANGUARD will devote special attention to three advance movements which we believe are destined, more than any others, within the present century, to diminish the load of superstition, sorrow and suffering now pressing upon the race and to help forward the kingdom of helpful manner. God.

I. RATIONAL RELIGION

ness flees at the dawn of day. THE journals of today. VANGUARD believes thoroughly in the religion of love and service which Jesus lived and taught; it also be-readers. But "boilit down,"

lieves in the facts of science and the rights of reason, and will seek to interpret the gospel for today in accordance therewith.

II. SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

Students of social science, from Herbert Spencer to Benjamin Kidd, declare Socialism to be the next stage industrial development is to succeed the present competitive wage system. It is already a clearly defined movement in America and is winning support from the best brain and brawn of our country at a marvellous rate. Only the ignorant regard it as allied to anarchy or atheism, only the prejudiced view it with alarm or suspicion. THE VANGUARD believes it to be the safe and efficient political remedy for existing social disorders, and advocates the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

III. PRACTICAL PSYCHOLOGY

What is popularly known as the New Thought, or metaphysical movement, continues to spread and to demonstrate the value and importance of mental control and psychic culture. It has stimulated study of the laws of mentality on the part of specialists whose researches and experiments are furnishing material for a new pathology, as well as shedding much light upon many problems of man's spiritual life. THE VANGUARD will discuss this subject in a sane and

Believing there is room and need for a periodical which will stand for The general acceptance of thestic the ideals which these three moveevolution and the assured results of ments represent, and which will bring modern Biblical study have given us together these three currents of advance a new theology before which the thought and thus aid in the actualizamists of mediævalism and material- tion of these ideals, THE VANGUARD ism are being scattered as the dark- takes its place among the progressive

We invite correspondence from our

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EDITORIAL NOTES

Whose likeness could be more appropriate on the cover of the first issue of THE VANGUARD than that of Edward Everett Hale? Himself noble embodiment of the truth he states so finely, he continues to "serve the world" generously with brain and pen and heart and voice. In the eighty-first year of his life he is still in the vanguard, "looking forward, not backward and lending a hand," a true prophet of the new century.

dent of the United States in 1904, George F. Hoar of Massachusetts. Senator Hoar is a grand, good man, well deserving such an honor, but we cannot second the proposal for the reason that President Roosevelt is doing too well to be allowed to retire. His "round" with the coal barons proved him every inch a man and we wish we might keep him in office at least until the Co-operative Com-

monwealth is ushered in. By that

time he bids fair to be a full fledged

Socialist and we may want to re-elect

him on that ticket. He now declares

that "the government might with

Some one has suggested for Presi-

safety own the railroads." Surely! but why not also the coal mines, and the oil wells, and the steel works, and sugar refineries and so on? Why not the whole plant? And why not also have the people own the government? Watch Socialism grow. And watch

the President grow.

If the old heathen dramatist could declare, "I am a man; naught that is human deem I foreign to me," how much warmer and stronger might we vides that every woman shall have expect the interest of every Christian the same right to vote in Australto be in every movement that seeks ian the welfare of humanity! Yet until passed both Houses of the Federal recent years the churches have been Parliament. Australia can thus claim strangely dumb in the presence of gi- to be the first country which has fully gantic social wrongs; and the condi-recognized the political

tions which produce poverty and crime have met with little attention or rebuke from the pulpit.

But the day of better things is at hand. Preaching a heaven to come tor men and women in the pangs of a present social hell is becoming a thing of the past. Ministers are beginning to see that "Thy Kingdom Come" meant, when it was uttered, a better and happier world on this side of the grave; and that following in the footsteps of the Master, who smote injustice with a mailed hand, means the redressing of social wrongs and the proclaiming of liberty to the captives of industrial oppression. Realization of the truth that Christianity means Brotherhood is urging Christian men in increasing numbers to identify themselves with the Socialist movement as that which offers the only definite and practical program of political action for the solution of the social problem.

Just as we go to press the report of Dr. Lyman Abbott's lecture at Yale College comes to hand. We have only room for a paragraph now. Speaking on "Socialism as a fact of the future" he said: "I believe the movement toward Socialism in this country to be irresistible, and I believe, too, it ought not to be resisted."

The coal strike resulted in a great vindication of John Mitchell and his men. We fully believe in the Trades Union movement. Our next issue will treat of its relation to Socialism.

The Adult Suffrage Act which proelections as the men.

rights of

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women as being on a perfect equality with those of men.

In the United States the equal suffrage movement continues to make progress, but the only political party that stands unequivocally for woman's is the Socialist enfranchisement party.

The teachers of the country are being urged to organization and union after the order of a bona fide Federation of Labor. They have been asked to confer with this organization and entering it they will secure its full support even to the indorsement of a The tyranny of Boards of Education, now too largely under appointment by the political preference, is the cause of the helplessness of the teachers who are asking for better wages, more humane treatment and surer permanence of situation.

Will You Help?

THE VANGUARD is intended to reach wideawake thinking people of every class and station. There are thousands of such people in this country who would be glad to subscribe for our magazine did they know about We therefore request present readers to send us the names of the brightest of their friends that we may send them sample copies. Better still, get up a club of three subscribers for one dollar. Help us to place THE VAN-GUARD in as many homes as possble this fall and winter. The good that we can do let us do at once.

A large number of advance subscriptions fall due with this issue. Will our friends please remit promptly and save us the trouble and expense of sending bills?

GREETINGS TO THE EDITOR

MY DEAR MR. SPENCE:-

I shall see THE VANGUARD with great interest. I am sure that every such effort helps. Sometimes it helps in a proportion much larger than the modesty of the founders proposed.

The name itself gives good omen for the journal. Whoever hopes for a better world in the new century must be glad to see simple statements of the methods which the century must follow in the discharge of its great duties. THE VANGUARD exists, as I suppose, to place those methods before its readers.

Truly yours,

EDWARD E. HALE.

BOSTON, MASS.

MY DEAR MR. SPENCE:-

Here is good cheer and God-speed to you and THE VANGUARD. I write to ask that you put The Commons on the exchange list from the start. We VAN BUREN, ARK.

have already reciprocated the service. Yours very truly,

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

CHICAGO, ILL.

MY DEAR COMRADE:-

Best wishes for the success of your magazine. It is a most laudable undertaking and should meet with much favor. "The field is ready." Believe me. Yours fraternally,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

MY DEAR COMRADE:-

We cannot have too many papers in favor of Socialism. The darkness is still so thick in many places that more torch-bearers are needed in the van. So long as a single shadow of economic ignorance or bigotry skulks athwart men's vision more light will be exigent.

Wishing you unlimited success, I am, Fraternally yours,

THOS. J. HAGERTY.



BOOKS WORTH READING

The Apostles' Creed.—By ARCHI- pledges himself always to believe a PUTNAM'S SONS. \$1 00.



pression of an earnest layman who political economy, medicine, art, or does his own thinking and who wishes geology. He continues: to incite others to think sincerely in Mr. Hopkins is religious matters. not an iconoclast nor does he question the essentials of pure and reasonable religion, but his work is in rather startling contrast to the orthodox views held by his father. Analyzing the clauses of the famous old creed. he finds scarcely a single proposition in it which could be supported in a court of law, and he believes that this ancient symbol, formulated by an ignorant partisan council, under the moral and military domination of a pagan emperor, should be abandoned as a test of present cay Christianity.

tel tre leith of Media. t - trulations of has lite an in the . . and he amignity with every of hy a imperious rules, anopted a join of which every aspirant for the descenof M. D. must throughout all time solemaly assert her believes and will alvace continue to believe or b. deprived of his tight to practice as an impacts of livermood. What condex eriniov such a doctor? Thus is ju which the church right so ground will believe to it. them and crivol sthair highest ass fuiness as much as a similar course in medicine would injure the doctors."

Mr. Hopkins holds that anyone who

BALD HOPKINS. NEW YORK: G. P. creed is committing mental suicide. Such a man can never go through any HE author of this book is complete intellectual process on any clerk ef the United States subject affecting that creed with thor-Court of Claims, Washing- ough honesty and without regard to ton, D. C., and a son of results. Creeds have their place as the the great educator and expression and concensus of opinion theologian, the late Rev. from time to time, but there is no Dr. Mark Hopkins, presi- more reason for adhering inflexibly dent of Williams College. to a series of propositions in religion, While the book contains which are stated as matters of fact little that is new to echol- without satisfactory evidence, than ars, it is the valuable ex- there is for doing the same thing in

> "The genuine, thoroughgoing, fearless seeker after truth does not stop along the road and tie himself forever to some formulistic hitching post. The progress of those who do consists in marking time on the dusty highway; greater multitudes than ever before are tramping past them toward the growing light, and some of those who are left behind fancy that as they are going through the motions they, too, must be advancing."

Then Mr. Hopkins goes on to give several solid pages of names of great and good men and women who have been "heretics and "infidels" from the ecclesiastical view-point. The exhibit is undeniably striking and will g. if many who read the book and were to sarve God without the aid and of med eval theology. fine une one source to overstates the case or a below that the a names replace it is nother. It at that is grout of and mod." Yet all those rations, it is Line and control in the and Land "STIBLE OF OF STEVEN SERVICES." Nather the Comment than or so too har to to go to see! ' excited a be at hor.

It is not often that men in Mr. Hopkins' position are so frank and so earnest in demanding that religion shall be freed from superstition and in seeking to interest every day men of affairs to think seriously about those things that make for righteousness. The book reveals profound research in Biblical and other literature, is evidently the product of much labor, and is written in a clear and attractive style.

Principles of Western Civilization: — Benjamin Kidd. New York. The Macmillan Co. \$2.00 NET, (POSTAGE 13 CENTS.)

This is one of the most important books of the year and one that is likely to be talked about and referred to for many years. In its 500 well written pages there is a wealth of learning and thought. Mr. Kidd is well known through his "Social Evolution" published in 1844, since which time he has been devoting himself to the colossal task of elaborating a new system of evolutionary philosophy. The volume before us, though complete in itself, is the first of a series of volumes devoted to this end.

In no work dealing with the social conditions of our time is the "trust" discussed in so clear and able a man-Speaking of this greatest social phenomena of our day and its relation to progress, the author savs it stands as a colossal boulder blocking the way to the future. In its present form it is merely a transference of the methods of feudalism from a military to an economic basis. baneful effects of competition are shown in its relation to child labor. If there be ten competing companies, nine of which decide not to employ children, while the head of the tenth throws aside all scruple and turns out a cheaper product by employing children, all the other nine are forced to come down to that one man's moral level. Our business morals are compelled to seek the level of the basest competitor. Thus the industrial

monopoly embodies the most selfish tyranny and is the most deadly enemy of true progress.

Pointing out the likeness between the gifts of feudal barons to the church and those of our millionaires to libraries and colleges, he deplores the social deterioration which such "charity" inevitably produces.

Mr. Kidd believes that the force which will overthrow economic tyranny is the growing idea of human equality. And he sees the solution already looming into sight in the Socialistic movement of our time-the state ownership of public utilities. This he believes is the force that will clear the way for the future progress of the Anglo-Saxon race. Such a conclusion, coming from such source, will carry great weight. surely time for men of thought to give Socialism serious and unbiassed study.

The Psychology of Suggestion:—A RESEARCH INTO THE SUBCONSCIOUS NATURE OF MAN AND SOCIETY. BY BORIS SIDIS, M. A. PH. D. NEW YORK. D. APPLETON & CO. \$175.

The work upon which the discussion of the subject announced in the title of this book is based was done, in part, in the psychological laboratory at Harvard. It therefore contains the conclusions of a specialist in this department and it is the work of specialists that we need in this field at present. The book is divided into three parts, the first relating to "Suggestibility," the second to "Self" and the third to "Society." Much of the discussion can be fairly reviewed only by an expert in the study of hynotism, somnambulism, etc. But the experisimple and ments are intensely Space forbids any deinteresting. tailed report, but we may say that

All publications mentioned in this department may be procured from the VANGUARD PRESS at quoted prices.

they throw much light on the many popular manias and social delusions due to the abnormal excitement which Dr. Boris says "runs riot in business panics, revels in the crowd, storms in the mob, and shouts in the camp meeting." While unable to accept in full the author's conclusions we welcome this book as an able and readable discussion of many questions of greatest moment. It is a valuable contribution to new thought literature.

LITERARY NOTES

GOOD HEALTH-BATTLE CREEK, MICH., for October has a fine article by the editor on "In Tune with the Infinite." Prof. M. V. O'Shea writes on "Study out of School Hours," a practical discussion of child life.

MARRIAGE AND MORALITY is the title of a little book by Dr. Paul Edwards, dealing with a vital subject in a sensible manner. lished by the author: 4713 PRAIRIE AVE., CHICAGO; 50c.

THE APPEAL TO REASON-GIRARD, KANSAS, continues to be the stalwart advocate of Socialism. circulation is now 200,000 each week regularly. During the campaign it has been issuing 400,000 copies week-An indication of the rapid growth of Socialist sentiment.

THE MAIL ORDER JOURNAL-119 DEARBORN ST., CHICAGO, is undoubtedly the best trade paper of its class and would seem to be indispensable to anyone engaged in the line of business it represents.

TREMOMT TEMPLE, BOSTON, is an excellent monthly devoted to Domestic Science, Physical Culture, Fancy boys. "He's won de prize." Work, etc. 50 cents a year,

would do well to send for sample copy. folks."

TRIFLES

"Uncle William, are you troubled about the hereafter?" "No. suh; it's de wharfo' ob de herein what keeps me guessin'!"

First Little Girl-"The brought us twins yesterday!" Little Girl—"That's where you made a mistake, You should have had a homœopath!"

J. Pierpont Morgan was showing some friends through his kennels the other day, and one of them expressed great admiration for an imported setter. "Yes, he's a fine dog. name is Russell Sage." How did you come to give him that name?" "Well, he never loses a scent."

Sunday School Superintendent-"Who led the children of Israel into Canaan? Will one of the smaller boys answer?"

(No reply.)

Superintendent (somewhat sternly) —"Can no one tell? Little boy on that seat next to the aisle—who led the children of Israel into Canaan?"

sub- Little Boy (badly frightened)—"It Pub- wasn't me. I—I just moved yere last week fr'm Mizzoury."

> When at last a physician came and settled among them, the people won-

"Nobody is ever sick here," they

"Of course not, with no medical assistance at hand," said the doctor, smiling at their simplicity in spite of his determination to be courteous.

A minister passing along the road one day, observed a number of boys in a circle with a small dog in the center. He inquired what they were doing, when one said they were telling. lies, and he who told the biggest lie

got the dog.
"Dear me," said the minister, am ashamed to hear of you telling WHAT WOMEN SHOULD KNOW-713 lies. When I was a boy like you I never told a lie."

"Hand him de dog," said one of the

Clergyman (lately come to parish) THE COMING NATION. RICH HILL,

—"Your neighbor, Smith, says my
Mo., under its new management is a sermons are rubbish." Farmer—
splendid Socialist weekly, and imsplendid Socialist weekly we

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FOR PEOPLE WHO THINK



5,319,912 of various kinds in the United States. perity, eh?

In Japan every child is taught to write with

In this country there are both hands. 2,000,000 children that are not taught to write at all. They are too busy working with both hands to learn to write with one.

Julian Ralph reports that \$13,200 .-000 was wagered on the Saratoga race track during the season. It would seem that some people have "money to burn."

"We are coming," says Prof. Graham Taylor, "to a religion that is a religion."

"Socialism," says Prof. John G. Brooks, "is growing in all countries with a rapidity that cannot be kept track of with statistics."

I am the slave of that man who controls the means of my existence. -Carl Marx.

"When private property is affected with a public interest it ceases to be juris priviti (the subject of mere private property) only."—United States Court.-Munn vs. Illinois.

The words republican and democance. They are remnants of the many.

According to the last dead past. They are obstructions to census report there are a healthful national growth, and a 5,319,912 women en- paralysis upon the political training gaged in manual labor of young men.—N. Y. Evening Post.

> "Socialism," says Rev. F. M. Sprague," is often summarily dismissed with the remark that 'the time is not ripe for it." Socialists have no idea of harvesting a crop before it is ripe. They do contend, however, that the unripeness of the crop is no reason for not cultivating it.

The Christ of the 20th century is not exactly the same as the sectarian Christ of the 19th, or the dogmatic Christ of the 17th, or the officered Christ of the 13th. or the metaphysical Christ of the 4th, or even the Christ after the flesh which Paul had already outgrown in the first. The Christ of the 20th century is pre-eminently the social Christ, and as such democracy and a democracy that is a is greater than all that has gone before-President Wm. De Witt Hyde.

> Edward Everett Hale says in a recent issue of the Boston Post: strike has brought nearer the inevitable solution of the coal question, This is the public ownership and control of the coal mines, first by the state of Pennsylvania and ultimately by the nation. In a republican government it is not possible, as it is not right, that 20 men shall control a supply which the good God has given for mankind."

To which the Post adds: "President Baer has helped a great many people to get rid of their conservative prejudices by his assumption of a God-given right to control the earth crat have ceased to carry any signifi- by the few to the exclusion of the

NUGGETS

deliver us from bigotry and bad rum; Thou knowest which is worse-I don't."

The liberty with which Christ makes us free is a liberty from the old yoke of bondage. It is freedom from a direction of any body of men who shall bad. - Marcus Aurelius.

Father Taylor's prayer: "O Lord, presume to dictate to us our opinions. Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D. D.

> All the while keep the upward windows open, -Brooks.

He who acts unjustly, acts unjustly fixed ritual; it is freedom from the to himself, because he makes himself

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Brotherhood.

By Edwin Markham.

The crest and crowning of all good, Life's final star, is BROTHERHOOD; For it will bring again to Earth Her long-lost Poesy and Mirth; Will send new light on every face, A kingly power upon the race, And till it comes, we men are slaves, And travel downward to the aust of graves.

Come, clear the way, then, clear the way;

Blind creeds and kings have had their

day, Our hope is in the aftermath-Our hope is in heroic men. Star-led to build the world again. To this Event the ages ran; Make way for Brotherhood-make way for MAN.

Man Must Live.

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

A man must live. We justify Low shift and trick to treason high, A little vote for a little gold For a whole senate bought and sold, By this self-evident reply.

But is it so? Pray tell me why Life at such a cost you have to buy? In what religion were you told A man must live?

There are times when a man must die, I'm thankful that the sun and moon Imagine, for a hattle cry, From soldiers, with a sword to hold-From soldiers with the flag unrolled; This coward's whine, this liar's lie-

A man must live!

By Right Divine.

By J. A. Edgerton.

When rogues would fill the human mind

With some transparent lie, They always claim it countersigned And sanctioned from on high. A case will make this statement plain: The right divine of kings to reign.

This lie was shot to death, in part, A hundred years ago, But now the tricksters seek to start An equal falsehood, so You hear proclaimed by every fool The right divine of gold to rule.

Ere long, when they grow bold enough

To make their purpose clear, And throw the mask of pretense off, We may expect to hear The pious knaves make this appeal: The right divine of thieves to steal,

I seem to hear another cry That comes from all around. Beginning low, it rises high, A deep and growing sound, That claims, in no uncertain tone, The human right to have our own.

That cry is filled with dire distress And angry discontent; With tones of want and wretchedness

While into these are bent Stern under voices, that demand The human right to life and land.

From torrid zone to frigid snows, 'Tis heard in every place. It ever louder, deeper grows, Until it thrills the race: And thunders forth from sea to sea The human right to liberty.

No longer let us hear that fraud Is sanctioned from on high; No longer tell mankind that God Will consecrate a lie; But let this truth forever shine: The human right is the divine.

Thanksgiving Song.

By Herbert N. Casson.

Are both hung up so high That no rich robber's hand can stretch And pull them from the sky. If they hung low, I have no doubt, The "enterprising" class Would legislate to take them down And light the world with gas.

I'm thankful that the shining stars Are far beyond our reach, And that the rolling planets, too, Are deaf from human speech. If they were near, I'm very sure Some men would own the skies, And manage the whole universe By private "enterprise."

I'm thankful that the God of all, Whose laws we must obey, Has changed his plans for making man

By making him from clay. If He had not, it's very clear, 'Twould be a doleful case, Some man would form a big clay trust And stop the human race.

SOCIALIST SIFTINGS.

WHAT THEY SAY.

"Socialism being the product of social evolution the only danger lies obstructing it."-Rev. F. Sprague.

The competitive system is againt good government against Christianity, against the church of Jesus Christ. The church ought to lead the crusade against it .- Rev. A. C. Bane, (Methodist.) San Francisco.

"God gives us great scoundrels as texts for anti-slavery sermons," said Wendell Phillips. In view of Mr. Baer's recent outbreaks we might add: "And He gives us great fools for the same purpose." Baer has done a great service for Socialismbut we owe him no thanks for it-The Worker.

Socialism is Christian in its ethics: it is scientifically practical and universally just. If you fail to vote for it, you do so simply because you do not understand Socialism.-Coming Nation.

Let us have more justice and less almsgiving. Charity is the hyssop on the sponge lifted to the lips of humanity on the cross. Let us rather take humanity down from the cross .-Edwin Markham.

The Socialists propose that the machinery which is doing the work of itcal. Is Christianity practical? Eugene V. Debs.

children of Israel to the land that war and war preparations.

equality of individuals, but seeks equality of opportunity. It promotes justice, harmony, peace, the common good, Men and women may always be infinitely different so far as Socialism cares, but they must all have a fair and approximately equal chance to amount to something.-American Co-Operator

Mayor Jones, of Toledo, says, "The kind of trust I believe in is Uncle Sam's big trust-the post office. At one end of a car you may see a railway mail clerk working eight hours a day for \$1,000 a year. At the other end of the car you may see an express messenger fourteen hours a day for \$60 a month." One works for the Government and the other for a corporation.

Questioned as to why she became Socialist, Annie Bessant, the famous novelist, said: "The cry of starving children, the sobs of women poisoned in the lead works, driven to prostitution by starvation, made old and haggard by ceaseless work, the result of an evil system inseparable from private ownership of the instruments of wealth production, has made me a Socialist."

STRAIGHT TO THE MARK.

Some one asks if Socialism is practhe country shall become the property it is, then Socialism is practical. of the people. Machinery was de- Nearly two thousand years of preachsigned to bless the world, but under ing and teaching and exhorting has the present system it takes work and, not produced a single nation that is therefore, bread from the worker .- founded on the golden rule-that has its commerce based on the commun-No doubt Pharaoh often told Moses ism of the Christ and his disciplesthat his proposed journey with the that prepares for peace and condemns flowed with milk and honey was "vi- about time the churches were getting sionary and impracticable," and but somebody to practice the Christian "the vaporings of a hair-brained en- theory of society? Had they done so, thusiast."-Living Issues, Salt Lake City. there would never possibly have Socialism has no thought of an arisen the need of the name "Socialist." The Socialists. to usher in the era millennium. if you have need." Are any of the Churches people to practice that requisite of a Socialist comes in just here. the Great Apostles? Not one of Appeal to Reason.

SOCIALISM DEFINED.

Encyclopedia Britannica.

Webster's Dictionary: A theory of society which advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.

The Standard Dictionary: A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, 'Every one according to his deeds."

WHY SHE WAS A SOCIALIST.

From an address by Frances E. Willard, at the National W. U.T. U. convention in Buffalo, N. Y.. in 1897.

labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands. But is it not the cruelest injustice for the would have my life! It is God's way wealthy, whose lives are surrounded out of the wilderness and into the and embellished by labor's work, to promised land. It is the very marhave a superabundance of the money row of Christ's gospel- It is Christiwhich represents the aggregate of anity Applied.

propose labor in any country, while the laborof peace er himself is kept so steady at work will that he has no time to acquire the not sneer-by having the industries education and refinements of life "held in common so that none will that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich preaching that? Are they urging and cultured? The reason why I am

I would take, not by force, but by We Socialists believe that the slow process of lawful acquisi-Christianity is practical here on tion through better legislation as the earth. The Church people don't .- outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all The ethics of Socialism are identi-that has been achieved on this concal with the ethics of Christianity- tinent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it. and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. loved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eli-Look about you; the products of minates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our every-day living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it

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EDITED BY J. M. A. SPENCE

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AM one who believes that the time is not far distant when the workingmen will have to solve the labor problem. I am free to say that my own views have somewhat changed since the strike. I look forward to the time when those who build the mansions will not have to live in the hovels. I look forward to the time when those whose labor builds the beautiful edifices, whose spires point heavenward, will not have to walk past them, too ragged to enter. I look forward to the time when the workers of our country will take possession of their own country.

—JOHN MITCHELL.

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THE VANGUARD

"They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of Truth."

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DECEMBER, 1902.

NO. 2.

LOOKING FORWARD

By FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH



finite mind is the realization that there is no stage in human progression that is final. It may be set down as self-evident that the man who thinks he has attained has not vet touched the borders of at-

tainment. Dogmatism is the mark of arrested development. It registers still a streak of nobility in him, it is the restriction of the mental and spiritual horizon. Light cannot reach little corner of his life sacred, free the soul except through the open from the defilement of the arena in mind, and to seize upon one truth to the exclusion of other truths is to acy. hitch your wagon to a fragment. Truth is one. We must not mistake the wolf instincts; you have only to a segment of the circle for a straight read the face of the Successful One line because we happen to stand too to see how far he has fallen short of near to see the curve of it.

There are those who will tell you that if it were not for the competitive struggle mankind would never amount to anything; that strife develops character. These are the ones who have mistaken the segment for a straight line and have traveled off at a tangent. They have confused the idea of man's necessity of overcoming Nature with the idea of man's fighting his fellow, until one idea has been not be his fellow. To exploit one anlost in the other.

produced a noble man. All the real gress. He who advocates the compebenefactors of the race have either titive struggle as beneficent has a

NE of the gladdest experi- investigations in economic security, ences that can come to the or they have ignored it altogether by deliberately choosing poverty as the price of their integrity of spirit. That the competitive struggle could produce a man like Jesus, or Socrates, or Galileo, or Newton, or Mazzini is unthinkable. Strife of man against man works moral disintegration; the only thing to be won by it is a soiled plume.

> If any of the Successful Ones has because he has secretly kept some which he has won his fancied suprem-

> The competitive struggle develops nobility of character.

> Character is a subtile painter, but the images she limns are unmistakable.

> It is true that we must put forth our powers in order to grow. We must live either at the expense of work or at the expense of faculty. Inaction rots the body and dulls and degrades the soul.

But the field of man's striving must other in competitive warfare is the The competitive struggle never yet surest method of stifling race probeen raised above it, pursuing their wolf-philosophy of life, his idea of a combativeness his neighbor and unconsciously helps horizons is awakened. to keep the world in an atmosphere of animalism.

human society, for man can deliber- along every highway if we only cared ately increase his food supply, All to plant them. Nature waits to help him. We are vironment, not each other. Nature is truths, alone fair honor is to be gained.

of us have been reaching out, and so not yet dreamed. we have discovered rudimentary principles of steam and electricity and pneumatics and hydraulics; but so many of us have been fighting one another, and for so long, that we still are living in an unfamiliar universe. It is Hope, alone, that makes life possible to some; hope that men may yet so grow in spiritual perception that they will see what character really is and howit may be developed. what we are here for and how beautiful life might be. For until we re- CHICAGO, III.

human society is not yet born. By cognize the truths which lie at our his belief that acquisitiveness and feet the gates of universal truth will are marks of su- be closed against us. Once we get periority of character he deceives upon the hills our yearning for wide

Surely we must some day see the absurdity of economic fear, here in a Animal ethics need not dominate world where fruit trees might thrive

And when we see this trnth, which meant to overcome our physical en- ought to be so plain, we will see other which are now obscured; the field of the cloth-of-gold in which truth which will revive dead faith in the beneficence of the Plan, and lead We have not yet touched the edge us grandly up to heights of being of of our physical environment. A few whose clear altitudes the race has

"Man is not Man as yet.

Nor shall I deem his object served, his end Attained, his genuine strength put fairly

While only here and there a star dispels The darkness, here and there a towering

O'erlooks its prostrate fellows; when the

Is out at once to the despair of night, When all mankind alike is perfected, Equal in full-blown powers-then, not till

I say, begins man's general infancy."

GEN'L APATHY

then,

By GEO. E. LITTLEFIELD



force of numbers-crushing by the united dead weight of a myriad of cowards.

ed with lyddite shells are not the Rulethwarted-behold! Gen'l Apathy

EN'L APATHY is at the deadliest power of our time? No! It head of a vast multitude. is the slow crawling mighty host of His cohorts are over all inertia that barracks in all our towns the world. He marshals and cities, that forages daily for the men and even women and food of the people, that lays itself children into his lazy down on the muscle and nerve of so-Gen'l Apathy's ciety, to paralyze by dragging its inert army kills by its sheer mass over all. This is the destroyer!

If an innocent human being is caught in the toils of injustice, or if the cause of Right is suppressed-if a Do you know that modern guns load. Christ is to be crucified, or the Golden

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heralds his approach. Beneath this breath of sympathy, they are caught almost suffocating stillness is enacted in the cordon of Gen'l Apathy's lea tragedy in which a life, and the welfare of humanity is at stake, and blighted, and, like buds ready to blosthe stake is lost. It is a victory for som into wondrous floresence, they Gen'l Apathy.

Suppose a court-room scene. Judge man, is brought in. The witnesses mander in Chief. testify, the lawyers plead, the jury are the witnesses, impulses are the led by the blind-retards the victory. pleaders and the prisoner is innofluence present. Gen'l Apathy captures the supreme judicial court of singing Longfellow's grand hymn: the brain, and therefore innocence "Tell me not in mournful numbers, languishes, or guilt escapes again and again. Shame!

There are times, very frequent, when some dear, precious soul yearns for love. Such souls are the possible geniuses and inspirers of the world. Their hearts are as deep as the ocean and beneath there is the movement of great mobile spiritual forces seeking to lave mankind with surging joy. At the exquisite moment, when such WESTWOOD, MASS.

appears on the field. A deadly silence souls are ready to bless under a single gions. They are strangled, suppressed. are nipped as by a cruel frost.

Thus are humanity and justice and and jury, pleaders and witnesses are love slain by the Great Army of the The prisoner, an innocent Refusers with Gen'l Apathy Com-

Every person who neglects, and who agrees and the judge pronounces the don't care, is enlisted in Gen'l Apathy's verdict. "Not guilty." Then, instead army. The Neglecters and the Don't of freeing the poor prisoner, alas! Cares, to be sure, are all stragglers: they let him be thrown back into the but stragglers are the mechanical dungeon. And suppose this the daily automatons, the leaden-brained rescene in that court. "Queer justice," cruits that best obey the brutal comyou say. "The height of of injustice!" mand of Gen'l Apathy. The ordinary you may exclaim. But this is the impedimenta, trailing on the march daily occurrence in the court of many of civilization, most surely harms civa human mind. There conscience is ilization. The baggage of life, heaped the judge, reason is the jury, facts in the path of progress,-the blind

To arms! then, O reformers! Arouse! cence, or guilt as the case may be, our churches! Up! up! O men and and he should be acquitted or dis- women! Let use rise against the charged. But there is a sinister in-lethargic old general and his army! Let us go forward to our victory,

> Life is but an empty dream! For the soul is dead that slumbers, And things are not what they seem.

In the world's broad field of battle. In the bivouac of life, Be not like dumb, driven cattle! Be a hero in the strife!

Let us, then, be up and doing, · With a heart for any fate; Still achieving, still pursuing, Learn to labor and to wait.

Sectarianism, denominationalism, dogmatism, conventionalism, selfism, let these stand aside. Sympathy, fraternity, unity, let these advance. Let us have "the brotherhood of all who love for the service of all who suffer." It is my conviction that "The power of the bad consists chiefly in the sleep of the good." Let those whose goodness, and whose religion, is love, awake, unite and conquer.—Rev. S. W. Sample. Digitized by Google

RATIONAL RELIGION

By REV. GRANVILLE ROSS PIKE.



by a noted writer: rational terms."

But such misconceptions are fast passing away as men outgrow the idea, so long and universally accepted, that the objects of faith are purely matters of revelation independent of reason, and begin to realize that religion is the exercise of the spiritual nature of man, and that all revelation is necessarily through and to his reason. The wheel is turning, and it is becoming evident that instead of being "from the nature of the case an inherent contradiction of terms," religion must be rational in order to be religion at all.

Man must think, reflect, reason, know, to some degree, or cease to be a man. Just twenty years ago, October 16, 1892, Prof. Hermann Nothnagle closed his inaugural address before the First Clinic of Vienna with these words,-since become deservedly famous,-"Knowledge obtains ethical value and true meaning only by being used." The entire relation of intelectual processes to religious belief is comprehended in that simple statement.

To retain the products of study and thought as a barren, inert mass of collected fact, with no endeavor to transmute it into constructive, efficient principles of conduct is to leave it entirely on one side of the current of life. It was once thought possible

HE idea of the relation to do this, but it left the life maimed between reason and re- and one-sided, like a tree shorn of half ligion still held by many its branches. Not only, in such cases, persons is thus expressed does this unused result of mental ef-"A fort fail to obtain ethical value for religion is a itself-to use again Prof. Nothnagle's impossibility, expressive phrase-but the determinrepresenting from the ation to exclude this aggregate from nature of the case an in- its proper place in the judgments and herent contradiction of activities of life becomes itself unethical in becoming, to that extent, destructive of personality.

> Our conscious life unfolds in judgments which distinguish facts and phenomena in their identity and qualities. The facts thus discriminated inevitably consist, in large measure-at least for the ordinary manof those most prominently before the public mind. This common sympathy in the attitude assumed by the multitude constitutes a Zeit Geist for each epoch. Individual thought, and consequently life, almost inevitably follows the trend of basal facts of existence and motives of action as a river's course is predetermined by the physical configuration of the region through which it passes. Yet our lives flow in the channels which they do from the necessity of personally acting in view of those distinctions which we recognize in the realities constituting our environment-even while we are deflected toward our particular judgments by the pressure of universal bias in that direction. Our lives become and continue rational, that is, become the normal lives of reasonable beings, only by virtue of our acting in view of these distinc-

Moreover, our life is one. The common division into sacred and secular; religious and irreligious, is purely artificial and arbitrary.

exceptional manner. rest. The notion to the contrary has an unscientific age. arisen from the habit of superficially toward this class of facts.

hypotheses and beliefs and forms of ing or logical deduction was possible statement are giving place to others. or permissible to man. is steadily toward unification of ele- reasonable God. ments and methods. We now think CHICAGO, ILL,

facts that are called spiritual can of God as at the center, and not mereneither be ignored nor treated in an ly at the circumference of things. They are of There is no longer any excuse for perneccessity objects of judgment and petuating the antagonism between discrimination impartially with the faith and intelligence which arose in

This antagonism was due to the regarding a decision to negleet as no confusion in which all knowledge of judgment at all, whereas it is none nature and natural processes was inthe less a determination of attitude volved. The whole circle of thought was vitiated at its center. God was It is peculiarly important for all to supposed to carry on his work in unremember these fundamental princi- certain, irregular, inscrutable fashples at the present time, when old ion, and hence no processs of reason-With the There is a growing habit of thinking discovery of the world processes came. in terms of induction. The doctrine or rather is coming, for it lingers, a of Evolution constitutes our Zeit Geist. recognition of the orderliness of the This influences all our thoughts to- divine method, and with that recogday. It has made men familiar with nition will come the acknowledgment the idea of law and consecutive pro- that a reverent reason and a rational cesses in the outworking of the divine faith are the choicest offerings that purposes. The tendency of all science any man can lay upon the altar of a

THE PASSING OF THE GODS

By FATHER THOMAS McGRADY.



and superstition adored the wonders of natheir own creation. from the potentates that august divinity.

tion was protected and patronized by a tutelary divinity. There were gods of the mountains and the hills and the meadows and the groves. There were gods of murder and theft, of anger and enmity, of lust and wine, of hat. cial magnate as the ancients trembled red and revenge. Man made his gods when the pagan god drove his chariot and then fell down before them in across the stormy skies and

the ages of ignorance awe and subjection, and offered them men his obedience and sacrifice.

But the days of paganism are not ture and the works of past. Man still makes his master Ev- and adores the work of his creation. ery law was a mystery and The laborer made the capitalist and every calamity came falls on his knees in presence of this The superstitions ruled the world from the that created the pantheon of Greece throne of the gods. Ev- and the triads of Egypt, have erected ery profession and voca- a throne for the gods of finance and commerce, and offer the sacrifice of labor and blood and life on the altar of capitalism. Mammon has de throned Jupiter, and the cringing multitude fear the power of the financlaimed his omnipotence in the voice of thunder and the flash of the angry clouds.

But Science is delivering men from industrial bondage as Christianity is delivering man from religious bondage. Science has taught men to use the energies of nature for their comfort and advancement. Physical laws have been banished from the throne of the gods and no longer exercise the power of the despot over the timid. fawning multitude, but are subjected to the human mind and discharge the functions of servants. Joves burning flame has been brought down from the clouds and the whirlwinds and sent as a messenger to carry the thoughts of men over oceans and continents. Knowledge has taken the sceptre from the hand of Neptune, and men taught the laborer that he has made the machine and created the capital-, throne the capitalist.

discovered all the continents and islands that have been touched by the foot of civilized man. Society has invaded new worlds and glorified them with the product of its thoughts and energies. It has created the cities and towns and villages and hamlets of populous countries. It has erected the art galleries and museums and filled them with the noblest productions of the brush and the chisel. has built libraries and stocked their shelves with the thoughts of the poet and the orator and the scientist and the philosopher. It has created schools and colleges and universities. Society has furnished man with every facility of production that he enjoys, and has multiplied his resources and extended his power over the laws of nature. Therefore Society should launch the ships on the heaving breast use its resources, all the energies of of the sea-god smile at the frown and its creation, all the factors that it laugh at his rage. Science has, also, has called into existence through the revealed to the laborer his power. It slowly revolving cycles, and the pashas revealed to the laborer the fact sage of the silent centuries, for the that he has been enslaved by the elevation of humanity, for the creawork of his own creation. It has tor should enjoy the works of his hands.

The resources of Society rightfully ist, and in the knowledge of this re- belong to Society, instead of the invelation the toiler will claim the dividual, and should be used by Sociright to own the machine and de- ety for the advancement of every child of our race. Justice demands The productive forces of this age that Society appropriate what it has are the creations of social factors and created; and in the triumph of knowldo not belong to any individual. So- edge and science which shall glorify ciety has created the civilization that the new century, the power of social glorifies the dawn of the 20th century. factors shall be withdrawn from the The triumphs of this age are the re- hands of the privileged classes, who sults of all the works and all the have weilded it for personal luxury thoughts of the human race. The and ambition and the enslavement of ideas and labors of every tribe and the toiling masses, and it shall be nation and tongue have been pre-used for the physical preservation and served and transmitted to posterity, mental and moral ennoblement of and in the march of time, each gen- mankind. The temple of paganism eration has inherited the knowledge fell with the onward march of Chrisof the past, augmented it with its tianity, and the temple of Mammon own victories, and bequeathed it as a will fall with the illumination of scilegacy to the future. Society has ence. The altar of capitalism, stained

with the blood of the nations, will perish in every land and the world will be blessed with the triumph of truth and love and justice. The industrial magnates and financial kings shall be relegated to the shadows of artiquity, and their dark deeds shall

be linked with the fables of heathen mythology, and their history will perish with the flight of time, and their names shall be forgotten, and their memory shall be consigned to everlasting oblivion with the gods of Greece and Rome. BELLEVUE, KY.

NEW THOUGHT DEMONSTRATED THE

By HENRY WOOD.



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verified methods of the physical laboratory, is fact a which is no less than revolutionary. It posi-

upsets many of the most fundamental assumptions of materialistic science, shows the fallacy of past therapeutics, and virtually relegates a great mass of scientific-so called-literature to basement storage, or the waste basket. It shows, even, through weights, measures and chemical tests, that a man is mind and not body—that he is spiritual and not a material being. 'It positively proves a mental basis and entity, and that the physical organism is secondary, resultant and expressive. It demonstrates an order of causation exactly the reverse of what has been accepted by conventional schools, systems and institutions.

Chemistry is an exact science. Professor Elmer Gates When psycho-physical laboratory Washington proves by chemical analysis that the physical products in the human organism are helpful or harmful, in exact correspondence with previous or existing states of mind-

HAT the most advanced as he claims to have done in numerclaims of metaphysicians, ous tests of the most sensitive charwhich have so generally acter-there can be nothing more been regarded as vision- conclusive imagined. According to ary, and even absurd, report made public, he has detected should all at once be posi- more than forty distinct varieties of by the the bad and as many of the good.

> It will truly gratify the small minority who have sacrificed much in the cause of truth-heretofore generally unrecognized-to receive at this late day a full confirmation of their claims through the investigations of the psycho-physicist.

Undismayed by flippant and superficial criticism and scholastic satire, a little band has for some time occupied this terra incognita, until it has become familiar ground to them; and now conventional science, in heavy marching order, with its sensuous tests, is approaching the same territory on another side, and is startled discovery. The power thought, scientifically regulated, and of auto-suggestion and affirmation in the building of mind and body, which are so familiar to students of mental science as to be almost axiomatic. are at last demonstrated, and the knowledge is christened the "newest of the

But those who have already explored this territory and who came to it through the paths of intuition and spiritual perception will not fail to cordially welcome the late arrivals

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methods of the laboratory. All hon- own embodiment. or to them for their earnest search after hidden truth. Their testimony ternal throne of his being, man drops will convince thousands who are not into a servile dependence upon cirprepared to accept other kinds of evidence. It is a glorious thing that the interrelations of truth are so many sided, that, like Rome, all roads finally lead there when faithfully fol- faculties, have been turned upon neglowed.

The importance of the future practical outcome of the new recognition, that all primary causation is supermaterial, cannot yet be imagined. The admission of the fact that man, here and now, is not a body having a soul, but a sonl possessing an expressive body, will revolutionize world. Traditional and dogmatic thelogy, materia medica, and materialistic science in every department, have all looked upon man as intrinsically and primarlly a material being, and all their philosophies have been shaped upon such an assumption. This occasioned an ever-recurring "fall" into an Adamic or animalized consciousness. In proportion as man has falled to recognize himself as a "living soul" he has dropped into subjection to sensuous limitation.

Man is mind and not a material form. His "brain cells are developed by their occupant, and not for him." The immaterial chemistry of his thoughts and emotions regulates the physical chemism of his body. grasp this great fact, with its logical relations, is the first advance on the road which will lead to his upliftment and mastery of outward conditions. The body can become his willing harmonious instrument thereby cease its restless and tyrannous dominion. An educated consciousness is able to project ideals into actual and outward expression. The its thought-energy, may positively tion."

who have come through the sensuous transform the chemical quality of its

By a careless abdication of the incumstances, without and within. The very thought-forces with which it is his privilege to build up and round out his spiritual, intellectual and physical atives, lacks, evils and disorders, thus bringing out a great harvest of expression of their own kind.

Even well meant efforts to get rid of evils by holding them up to make them detestable, have only made them more fast in the consciousness. The only true remedy is their displacement through systematic idealism. Thought is ever pressing to embody itself and express its own quali-This law is as exact as those of tv. mathematics or gravitation.

The psycho-physicist through the delicate weights, measures and chemical tests of his laboratory has done the world a great favor. He has brought a seeming occult and shadowy truth into the light of noonday, and made it apparent to the sensuous comprehension of the masses. though he cannot weigh or measure thought itself, he can calculate its potency, and guage its intensity, quality and continuity, through its physical chemi-types and vibrations.

The hitherto crude materialism of science is becoming highly refined. The interrelation and unity of all things is apparent, and the One Universal Life is felt to be back of all its multiform expressions. As law is more truly interpreted, its broad trend is seen to be not only universal but beneficent.

The science of today is becoming spiritual. Even the traditional atom, or unit of matter is an abstraction, ego through a scientific exercise of and now defined as "a mode of mo-There is no more sacred and no more secular, but all is divine.

has only concerned itself with mat- ual philosophy. ter and secondary effects and expres- CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

sions, is now through them working Modern science, which in the past its way to a deeper primal and spirit-

UNIONISM AND SOCIALISM

By JOHN M. O'NEIL, Editor Miner's Magazine.



grapple with questions and conditions which confront us, or go down in ruin, shattered into fragments as the result of its weakness to measure steel with the giant combinations of the twentieth century. Unionism must

be able to meet the Napoleons of commercial greed and record upon the pages of future history the Waterloo of moneyed plutocracy.

Why have labor organizations in the past been shattered into fragments? Why have the Davids of the common people been unable to meet in combat the Goliath of Shylockism and bury in its unhallowed grave the despotism of moneyed tyranny? Why does American manhood throw away his independence and kneel in abject slavery at the shrine of the employer. begging for a paltry pittance? Why do old age and crippled youth totter to the prison and the poor house? Why does virtue hide its cheek behind the gaudy walls of shame? Why does childhood wither and decay in the poisoned atmosphere of tenement and factory? Simply because the great organized labor army of the nation has been dividing its strength between the two old political parties whose planks and platforms have emanated from the cunning brain of commercial cupidity and because many of our labor leaders who have stood in the van of unionism for years

NIONISM must either ad- have either slumbered in the lethargy vance or retrogade. Un- of indifference, ignorant of the remeionism must be able to dies to liberate struggling manhood, or else they have utilized the organization to which they belong to subserve their own personal interests. Such procedure not only fetters the limbs of labor day, but moulds the shackles that must be worn by generations that are yet to come.

> We know that, from the experience of the past, labor as it has been organized, will not be able to cross swords with the giant monopolies of the present day. We know that the great combinations of capital are firmly intrenched behind the courts, the state militia, the federal troops and the very government at Washington itself. The delegates in the recent convention of the Western Fedation of Miners realized that organized labor must capture the powers of government at the ballot box in order that capitalism shall be halted in its despotic career. The people of this nation must own, collectively, the machinery of production and distribution, before they can hope to raise aloft the symbol of industrial free-The Socialist party holds out dom. a remedy that will obliberate from our civilization the tramp and the millionaire and robe manhood and womanhood with the vesture of equalopportunity Labor has realized that the time has come when trimming and straddling will never accomplish anything that means permanent relief for the masses. Socialism will be the shot and shell that will be hurled from the guns of unionism to

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men to meet in secret conclave and rays upon an emancipated people. flash from ocean to ocean an ultimat-DENVER. C OLO.

level the fortress of haughty commer- um that will cause every wheel in cialism and when manhood will have this boasted land of ours to cease in a greater value than the dollar. No its revolution. The Western Miners man who is honest can be satisfied have entered the socialistic field to with a political and industrial system fight this battle until the beacon that has made it possible for a few light of a new liberty shall shed its

JOHN MITCHELL

This greatly beloved and trusted ganizer. In 1898 he was elected Na-In 1897 he was elected National or- his cause is just.

labor leader, who has come iuto na- tional Vice-President and became. tional prominence through his wise acting President in September of and successful conduct of the anthra- that year when Michael Ratchford cite coal strike, is still under thirty- resigned to accept a position on the four years of age. He was born in Labor Commission. In December of Braidwood, Ill., Feb 4, 1869. His par- the same year he was elected fourth ents, Robert and Martha Mitchellim- Vice President of A. F. of L. In 1899 migrated from Scotland to this coun- he was elected President of the try some years prior to the date of United Mine Workers of America his birth. His father was a soldier and has been re elected each year in the Civil war, and a miner, and since then. His home is at Spring died in 1875. His mother had died in Valley, Ill., where his family and wife 1871, and the boy lived with his step- reside. He is a man of modest mien mother. He attended school at who is yet thoroughly in earnest. His Braidwood, from the age of six to many speeches are clear and direct, ten; worked on a farm from ten to and have been potent in their influthirteen, his subsequent education ence upon the turbulent elements being obtained by night study. In among those who make up his followthis way he read law for one year, ing. In his conferences with the rep-He was a close student of economic resentatives of capital before the questions. At thirteen he began to President and before the Arbitration work in the mines at Braidwood. He Commission he has presented the case remained a mine worker in different of the miners with remarkable ability, places until his positions in the labor being more than a match for the atorganizations began to occupy his torneys of the coal barons. During time. He joined the Knights of La- the four and a half days he was on bor in 1885 and in 1890 was chosen the stand he was subjected to the president of the Local Assembly at severest cross-questioning some of Spring Valley, Ill. This was his first which descended to a low level. But office in a labor organization. He never once did John Mitchell lose his was married at Spring Valley, June head nor fail to return the right an-1, 1891, to Katharine O'Rourke. In swer. His burning words of truth at 1895 he was elected secretary-treas- times confused Wayne MacVeagh and urer of Spring Valley sub-district of left the honest miner master of the the United Mine Workers of America. situation. Mitchell is strong because

Young men, pitch not your tents in the graveyard of dead issues .-- J. A Garfield

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM

1. "Human Nature is too Selfish for Socialism."

objection, which, put briefly, amounts robbed of our share. to the claim that Socialism is impossible while human nature remains un- all greedy. But why should Lord changed.

The argument is that self-interest is opposed to Socialism.

Is it? Why? If it be to the interest of the vast majority of the people to establish Socialism, as it most undoubtedly is, how can the alleged fact that self-interest is the strongest of human motives be held to constitute an argument against Socialism? They say-the non-Socialiststhat human nature is not good enough for Socialism, that all men are selfish and greedy.

But supposing that were true, is it any reason why America should not belong to the Americans?

Say we are all as greedy as pigs; is that any reason why the great herd of pigs should leave the trough to a few fat pigs who have already overeaten themselves?

If we are all for self, is that any reason why we should gnaw bones while a few of our number enjoy the feast?

If we are all on the grab, why should we stand empty-handed and let a few grabbers take the land and the best of what the land yields?

The heart of man is wicked. Very well; but what has that to do with the case? Because we are none of us virtuous, shall a few sinners take all Let us demand Socialism and see that the cake and cream?

If we are such greedy hogs, it is LONDON, ENG.

This is an old and much dilapidated strange that we allow ourselves to be

Perhaps the people of Liverpool are Salisbury own nearly half the city, while the hundreds of thousands of workers do not own a brick nor a foot of land, and even have to pay rent for a grave?

Mankind, let us say, are all rogues, every one a bigger rascal than the other; but that is no reason why they should pay for bad gas if they can make good gas themselves for a less

Human nature is vile. Be it so: but that does not prevent the city of Glasgow from managing its tramways better than they were managed by the company.

There is no such thing as perfection in this world. Just so. The bee has a sting and the rose a thorn, but is that a reason why the laboring man should not have beef with his mustard?

We all want as much as we can get. Then let us all get as much as we can. If men really are selfish and greedy, that is a strong reason why they should turn Socialists and insist upon having every penny they earn.

What! We are all selfish greedy! Then let us act as selfish and greedy men would act. Let us get all we can for ourselves. Let us reject the state of things which gives us the work and others the wealth. we get it. ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

It is not because of their moral stature that some men and women have to stoop in order to touch their fellows down below. If the artificial pedestals which capitalism furnishes were removed, a great many people would have to climb in order to look into the faces of some who are now social outcasts.—Rev. Wm. T. Brown. Digitized by GOOGIC

ON THE FIRING LINE

By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD.



that of the party technically defeated who has the victor on the run.

Another recruit from the clergy since we fired the last round. The Reverend Doctor Lyman Abbott has resistable."

The Massachusetts elections seem to have also elected Geo. Fred Williams as a Socialist. George can now do the good that he tried to do as a Democrat and failed.

They tell us that Socialism is materialistic! Well, so is Medicine, and Surgery, and Sanitary Science. None of them would get very far as branches of metaphysics-now, would they?

Puzzle picture: Look at American politics, and find the only party that is growing. Vote the ticket of this party to get the prize.

Every fifth voter in Milwaukee voted the Socialist ticket this fall, and the total count in the state shows 17,446 Socialist votes.

Carl D. Thompson says that nobody but a workingman can seem to read Karl Marx with any satisfactory results. College professors say they find him very hard reading.

That reminds me that Carl D. Thompson will be making a tour of Wisconsin soon, and if any of the ministers would like to have him speak in their churches they can arrange for it by writing to the Socialist Lecture Bureau, Milwaukee.

I heard a minister lately talk on the quiet thinking for subject, "What the Church has done selves.

Well, we've just finished for the Working Classes," and he had another skirmish, and something on ancient idolatry, comfeel pretty well satis- parative religion, and woman under Our position in Christianity, but never got in sight the election results is of his subject after he announced it. And the working men there knew it!

It is too bad to hear the ministers who attack Socialism expose their ignorance of its position; to hear them attack Fourier and Proudhon as Socialists of today. No man has reat least said what he has long known futed Socialism who has not refuted to be true, viz, that "Socialism is ir- its LAST and BEST word, and that is based on modern science.

> Socialism is not offered as a substitute for religion, but to take the place of capitalistic disorder and greed.

> Do those who think Socialism is "unspiritual" "materialistic" and mean to say that capitalism, wageslavery and profit-making are spiritual and are not materialistic?

> Somebody complains that Socialism allows no place for "sentimental values" in its theory of value. What place does classical political economy make for the baby's shoe in the mother's casket of treasures? How much is a lover's knot worth on the market?

> Did you notice the strength of Socialism in the convention of the A. F. of Labor? It is worth noting that among 10.000 votes, Socialism missed being endorsed by only 700. Working men cannot be blinded to their power when they act as a unit for their own interests.

I wonder if the women realize how much more Socialism means to them than men. They should read Charlotte Stetson Gilman's "Women and Economics," and do some

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AT CHRISTMAS TIME

By J. A. EDGERTON.

My mind goes back through the ages dim To the shores of the Past, till it reaches Him: The Child who unto the world was born On that far-off, primal Christmas morn; And I hear, in spirit, the gates unswing, And the distant chorus of angels sing The song, whose sweet strains echo still, The wonderful carol of "Peace, good will." I follow the Child through the weary days Of His pilgrimage. I see Him raise The poor, the suffering, the weak; And He is gentle and kind and meek, Sowing the seeds of love and good And preaching the gospel of brotherhood. I follow Him up the stony ways,

Bearing His Cross to Calvary; And I see Him strong in His Agony, As He gives His life for the human race. Till I feel, of all seasons the most sublime Is the sacred season at Christmas time,— At Christmas time.

There's suffering in the sad, old world To-day, my brothers, there's work to do, A duty open for each of you,—
Until the banner of love's unfurled Above the nations of all the earth, And the better era is brought to birth,—
To lift the fallen and teach the right;
To help the needy and spread the light;
To preach, not narrow and outworn creeds, But higher thinking and nobler deeds;

To help the world in its onward way, And up the mountain of Progress climb,

> Till, over the mists of bigotry And night of selfishness, we may see

On the mountains of H ope the rays sublime
Of the rising sun of a grander day;
Till we hear the bells of the kingdom chime
O'er all nations, at Christmas time,—

At Christmas time,

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The Vanguard

WE BELIEVE IN THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD: IN THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN; IN THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH: IN CONTINUOUS INSPIRATION; IN PROGRESSIVE REVELATION; IN SPIRITUAL UNFOLDMENT; IN MORAL BYO-LUTION; IN MENTAL HARMONY; IN PHYSICAL HEALTH; AND IN THE KINGDOM OF GOD, HERE AND NOW AND EVERYWHERE AND ALWAYS,

With the Editor



The reception accorded THE VAN-GUARD has been all that an editor could desire. A veritable torrent of kind words and good wishes has been pouring in upon us during the last thirty days and our subscription list has received a splendid increase. thank our many friends, old and new, for these expressions of appreciation; and, with renewed determination to make THE VANGUARD a strong and inspiring factor in the life of today, we most heartily wish our readers, one and all

A MERRY CHRISTMAS AND A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

Why should not THE VANGUARD reach the 10,000 mark in circulation within the next six months? It can if those who believe in its platform will help a little. What more sea-sonable gift than a year's subscription to our magazine? Send it to your friends. For this purpose we make the special price during December of four copies to different addresses for one dellar. addresses for one dollar, and, if desired, we will notify each person to whom sent of the name of the donor.

movement. The gains everywhere were tremendous, placing Socialism at once in the arena of practical politics as a force to be reckoned with from this time forth. Not less than a million votes are assured for 1904, and if the growth of Socialist sentiment continues at the present rate we may reasonably look for twice that number. The outlook is causing consternation in the camp of capitalism, and well it may when The Literary Digest, the leading weekly review, after an analysis of the situation, says that indications point to the inauguration of a Socialist President before many years. All that is needed is that the people understand So-When they do they will Now for a campaign of edwant it. ucation.

The obtuse editor of one of our Democratic exchanges takes us to task for (as he supposes) quoting Herbert Spencer "as an advocate of Socialism," whereas we did nothing of the sort. We simply said that Herbert Spencer, among others, "declares Spencer, among others, "declares Socialism to be the next stage in in-dustial development." His words are "Socialism is inevitable." Spencer's well known objection to Socialism only adds force to this prediction of the great philosopher.

The same editor takes umbrage at our kindly reference to President Roosevelt and his renomination in 1904. "Aye, there's the rub" And we may as well "rub it in" by adding that we believe Roosevelt's renomination and re-election in 1904 to be "inevitable." But this does not imply that we are "advocating" Roosevelt or Republic-Does the Covington editor anism. see the point?

So long as the present system continues we hope we shall have men of the Roosevelt stamp in the White House. It matters not whether they are elected on the Republican or the Roosevelt Democratic ticket. elected as a Republican and he is, of course, loyal to the policies of that party. But he is bigger than his party. The designing politicians of his party sought to shelve him in the vice-presidency. But all unexpected whom sent of the name of the donor. The magnificent vote for Socialism since been figuring in vain for some in the November elections indicates a way out of their dilemma. Roosevelt waking up of the people to the real will be President again in spite of merits of the great principles of this them all. Where have the Demo-

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crats got a candidate to match him? But that is between the old parties. We are out for the Co-operative Commonwealth, and while we are ever ready to give honor where honor is due to individuals, the principles we advocate are greater than any candidate or office and shall have our undivided support in 1904 and until the millenium.

What a pity that people are so blinded by prejudice that they cannot see the good that exists in those who hold different opinions in politics and religion! We know Republicans who can scarcely conceive of such a thing as an honest Democrat, and we know Democrats who are so badly warped, mentally, as to regard all Republicans with equal suspicion. We have heard Mr. Bryan referred to as though he were the incarnation of deceit and demagogery and Mr. Roosevelt spoken of as void of principle. The truth is that it would be difficult to find two better types of American manhood. Both are men of unimpeachable character and public spirit, to whom we may point with pride, no matter how widely we may differ from them in their views on public questions. The person who cannot do this is to be pitied for the littleness and meanness of his soul.

"And there's 'Gene Debs, a man 'at stands, And jest holds out in his two hands, As warm a heart as ever beat

As warm a heart as ever beat

Betwixt here and the judgment seat."

So writes James Whitcomb Riley, out of a life-long and intimate acwith this quaintance pure-souled, influential labor leader. We can easily imagine some persons curling the lip in scorn, and even holding up "holy" hands in horror at the mention of Such is their prejudice. Rev. Frank Talmage says: "Among all the speakers whom I have heard there has not been one which came nearer to my idea of Abraham Lincoln than Eugene Debs." What, then, is the matter with Debs? Why, Debs is a Socialist, and a ring-leader of the people who believe in the Co-operative Commonwealth. And this pitiful narrowness of which we write is perhaps most in evidence in the way persons afflicted with "the closed mind" speak of Socialists.

To many well-meaning people the name Socialist calls up the vision of a human monstrosity combining the characteristics of a lunatic and an anarchist. There are those who be-

lieve that Socialism is a low-lived, vile, redhanded, murderous, bomb-throwing affair. The very word is a terrible bugbear, and writers and speakers in the interest of capitalism still use their best efforts to make it But this too is passing. The odious. people are beginning to study socialism, and they are finding that no word in the English language has been construed to mean something which it did not mean more than this word Socialism. Time was when the word Christian was synonymous with atheist and when Christianity spelled There is as little to be afraid of in the Socialist movement of today. It is the religion of humanity put into political action. It will hurt no one but the despot and the Says Prof. Ely, of the Univerthief. sity of Wisconsin: "Socialism is simply applied Christianity; it is the Golden Rule reduced to every day life." It is surely time that Christians at least understood something of it.

(Editorial notes continued on p. 23)

SOARING PRICES

"To eat or not to eat is a question that is pressing with more and more insisted upon people of moderate means. The prices of food products are steadily increasing, and in consequence life is becoming more and more strenuous for the wage-earner who has a family to support. While wages have increased only slightly during that period the food necessities now cost at least 25 per cent. more than they did twelve months ago, while the advance in cost during the last two years has been fully 33½ per cent. These estimates are made by one of the most experienced and trustworthy wholesale grocers in the city and are based on a careful study of the situation. The investigation was made for commercial reasons, and may be relied upon as being as nearly correct as possible."

Such is the announcement made in a recent issue of the Chicago Record-Herald, to which the editor of that newspaper adds: "Any pretense that wages and salaries have kept pace with the increase has slight basis in fact. Though a considerable number of wage-workers have had advances of 10 to 20 per cent., they form but a fraction of the population that depends upon wages and salaries. vast majority find their fixed incomes less and less adequate to supply their For thousands upon thouswants. ands of people it means just so much

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satory gains of any sort.

"The capitalist and his political tool are pleased to term this "prosperity" and to shout "stand pat," "let well enough alone." It is easy to see why. Verily they are enjoying prosperity. With one combine in comtrol of sugar, another of meat and so on, soaring prices simply means that the trusts are fleecing the public to the limit which they think it safe to But the end must come and come That an influential journal like the Record-Herald should enter the following emphatic protest and warning is a sign of the "Kill all rivals, rob the public,' is the rule of all these trusts, and they are making a mock of the cry of prosperity." "To expect that the public will submit indefinitely to such abuses is absurd."

Equally significant are recent utterances of the pulpit, notably those of Washington Gladden whose wide knowledge of public questions and great influence give much weight to "Does any sane man," he his words. asks, "believe that the American people will continue to submit to such imposition? It is not to be expected. I do not pretend to know how it is coming out, but I know that the seeds of madness and violence are being sown broadcast every day, and the harvest is coming sure and soon. Such a gigantic attempt to bind burdens upon the whole community of consumers must provoke violent reaction. The feudal lords of the olden time made no more unjust demand. It will not be endured. And there is terrible danger that these injustices will be swept away by a whirlwind of popular wrath."

Yet we are told that the press and pulpit which thus speak out are fomentors of discontent, that we should hold our peace, that agitation is un-

money out of pocket without compen- wise, etc. What wretched hypocrisy! What abject servitude! If anything were needed to demonstrate the domination of capitalism over manhood and the demoralization which it is working in our political life, this cowardly attitude furnishes it. same miserable plea would have given our forefathers ten-fold more reason to tamely submit to the voke of foreign rule. The injustice against which the New England patriots took up arms was a mere bagatelle compared with the levy made upon our entire substance by the monopolies of

"Where would be our free opinion,
Where the right to speak at all,
If our sires, like us distrustful,
Had been deaf to duty's call,
And concealed the thoughts within them,—
Lying down for fear to fall?"

Nevertheless the remedy is not to be found in a return to the economic conditions of the past, even if that were possible. Competition has been left forever behind. It proved too costly to continue when once the benefits of combination were discovered. The trust is not wholly evil. It is a labor saving invention, and will remain. But it must be made to serve the people, not to crush them. long as its power is wielded for private gain it will continue to plunder the people. No amount of "regulation" at the hands of politicians who tell us to "let well enough alone" and who thrive on the patronage of the trust will avail. No anti-trust law can be devised to over-match the selfish cunning of the money power so long as it retains the machinery of civilization as its private property. Our economic salvation clearly lies in the collective ownership of means of production and distribution. Socialism is the solution of the trust problem. It is scientific; it is right: it is inevitable; and the sooner it comes the better for the nation. The duty of the hour is to work and vote for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

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BOOKS WORTH READING

(All publications mentioned in this department may)

Women and sale by The Vanguard Press.



HE

a masculine one," the reading public very virtues, along sex lines." should congratulate itself that Mrs. Stetson Gilman ignored the tradition- abnormal difference, in that the woal grammar, and allowed her needle man gets her living by getting a husto stick idly in its cushion, while she band, whereas the man gets his wife wielded the pen. The axis of thought by getting a living. Thus in one the in the book is the economic depend- economic necessity becomes a force ence of women and the combination falsely directed to the development of of the economic relation with the sex-attraction; in the other the sex-This phenomenon peculiar to the human family. In no economic activity. On both sides this other animal species does it obtain, is a vitiation of natural truth. On Everywhere else in nature, until man- woman's side especially the resulting kind is reached, the male and the fe- restrictions are an evil. male are practically independent in been denied the use of her powers for the activities by which subsistence is production for practical economic resecured. But with us, "speaking col-sults. Her part in the world has been lectively, men produce and distribute to exercise the sex-function. Thus wealth; and women receive it at their her path has been made very narrow hands." Women have toiled to be and straight. And the world itself has sure, but their labor has been regard- suffered, inasmuch as it has left the ed as a functional duty, and not as racial functions undeveloped in wo-Thus status even as a worker has not been she might have rendered in the broad that of self support; she has only re- human way. ceived her living as a dependent up- How this intensification of sex-enon the man. And the all-important ergy and exaggeration of sex-instinct point is that she obtains her living has led to various abnormal developfrom man, not in compensation for ments; how it has warped the nature

Economics.—By her industry, but because of her sex. CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON GIL- This has tended to over-emphasize MAN. Boston: Small. Maynard & her sex-distinction, and to enhance Co., Publishers. Price. \$1.25. For the importance of her sex-attraction as the veritable means of livlihood or descriptive sub-title at least the condition on which she is is "A Study of the Eco- most likely to be maintained in comnomic Relation Between fort. This has modified the normal Men and Women as a sex-tendency, common to all crea-Factor in Social Evolutures, into "an abnormal sex-tendency. tion." This is a notable produced and maintained by the aband valuable book in its normal economic relation which makes bearing on the problems one sex get its living from the other by of modern society. If, as the exercise of sex-functions." We Harriet Martineau said, have carried the case over into second-"to sew has come to be con- ary distinctions, "differentiating our sidered a feminine verb, and to write industries, our responsibilities, our

There is another very curious and is instinct acts as a false stimulus to the woman's man, thus missing the service which

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not less, the nature of man; how it ject, the majority of hypnotists beprevented the realization of a truly noble sex-life: how it has held back the appearance of that broad social spirit which fosters the higher development of humanity; how it has prevented the organization of an economic machinery in the interests of human needs rather than sexual ones; how it has precluded the collective and co-operative growth of man which might otherwise have been earlier possible: and how it has given origin to some of the most serious evils and vices of our history-all these subjects are ably presented and discussed in this remarkable volume. The book should be read by all the world. would be a missionary undertaking worth the while to furnish the means to place it in every library in America and England, and especially to supply it to every teacher and student of modern economic. It challenges the new chivalry-the only true chivalry-of justice to womankind, and it points the way to a liberty which shall lead to life. T. C. L.

Mind and Body-By ALVAN C. HALPHIDE, M. D. Chicago: Published by the author. Price \$1.50. For sale by The Vanguard Press.

This is an able work on hypnotism and suggestion applied in therapeutics and education. Dr. Halphide reviews the subject of hypnotism from its earliest records, tracing its evolution through the teachings of Mesmer, Braid, Charcot, etc., to the present day. The different schools of the past and present are compared, and the relation of hypnotism to therapeutics and education clearly stated. The relation of hypnotism and crime is also discussed. The chapters on suggestion are very interesting, dealing with the conscious and subconscious action of mind. Dr. Halphide

of woman and, at the same time and is a division of opinion on this sublieving that hypnosis is a form of sleep, while others do not consider the condition allied to sleep in anything but appearance. The doctor advocates the efficacy of suggestion during natural sleep for educational and therapeutic purposes and points out the legitimate uses and the dangers of hypnotism.

> The book is well written, lucid, scholarly, instructive and has already met with a flattering reception by the secular and medical press of the country. As stated by the Journal of Suggestive Therapeutics: "It is not too much to say that 'Mind and Body' is the best book dealing with this subject that has been printed for years, because of the author's determination to make plain to his readers how they are to proceed to secure their results, and why these results, may be expected to follow." The doctor is not a faddist in any sense, but a conscientious and progreesive physician who makes much use of suggestive hypnotism in his practice and has obtained many remarkable results through its agency.

LITERARY NOTES

THE SOCIALIST, Seattle, Wash., is among the best of our exchanges. It is a cartoon weekly, wide-awake, upto-date, and is doing splendid work for the cause.

COMMON SENSE is the name of the latest New Thought journal judging from the initial number it will prove a valuable addition to the ranks. The editor, Eugene Del Mar is one of the ablest of the New Thought teachers, sane, clear, help-Send for a sample copy. Box ful. 1364, Denver, Colo.

Rev. J. Stitt Wilson of The Social Crusader (which is discontinued) joins forces with Edgar Wallace Conable and will hereafter edit a department believes in the hypnotic sleep. There and Life. Success to the combinain THE PATH-FINDER on Socialism tion. It is a strong one. Address satiate their inhuman greed? Yet Roswell, Colo. these fellows who violate their agree-

The 1903 issue of Ira R. Hicks Almanac is out and is in greater demand than ever. Prof. Hicks is well known through this publication and his journal WORD AND WORKS. Price of Almanac, postpaid, 30c; with WORD AND WORKS for one year, \$1 00. Address, 2201 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo.

THE HIGHER THOUGHT, published at Kalamazoo, Mich., will, in its January issue, give a complete review of the recent position taken by the Christian Science church in withdrawing its healing practice from a certain class of diseases. Every one interested should send for a copy of this issue. Price 5 cents.

THE ARENA continues to hold its place as the foremost review of progressive thought. No thinker can afford to be without it. The December number opens with a timely discussion of Private Property and public rights, by Edwin Maxey, LL. D., followed by One Aspect of Continental Expansion, by Jacob W. Richardson. The Anglo-Saxon and the African is the title of an article by one of the most enlightened Negroes in America—Prof. Kelley Miller, of Howard University; this article will be read with interest. The entire number is good. 25 cents per copy. Alliance Publishing Company, 569 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

EDITORIAL NOTES

(Continued from p. 19)

"The land of the noonday night" in the very heart of America has today its tragedies more pitiful than those of the worst days of negro slavery. The facts being brought to light by anthracite Arbitration mission are shocking in the extreme. Little wonder that the Commissioners have been deeply affected by the recital of suffering and wrong endured, and that at times tears filled the eyes of members of the court. It seems almost incredible that such atrocious cruelties and rascally robberies should be practiced in a civilized country, by professedly respectable and "Christian" men, as have been clearly proven against the mine operators. Is there any crime in the decalogue which they would not commit to

these fellows who violate their agreements, who plunder their workmen by extortionate prices and thus keep them a whole life-time in their debt. and when crippled or too old to serve them longer turn them out to die, who turn a deaf ear to the united appeal of those who produce their wealth for scant measure of justice and who seek to bribe hungry men to betray their comrades,—these are the fellows who prate about anarchy, who talk of "divine rights" and who call for militia to enforce their deviltry. How long, O Lord, how long? long, O men of America, how long will ye tolerate such infamy and brutality? It is high time to wrest this power from the hands of these impious monsters, to give back to the people their own, and free the slaves industrial tyranny. Socialism alone can do it, and Socialism will do it. God speed the day!

Good Things in Store for Readers of The Vanguard

OUR JANUARY NUMBER will be full of interest. Strong articles by able writers on vital topics are promised. Leading features will Learning to Love, by Rev. Benjamin Fay Mills; The Dangers of the Higher Criticism, by Prof. Charles W. Pearson; Mental Wealth, by Eugene Del Mar; Doctors and Christian Science, by Samuel T. Carter; The Essence of Reform, by F. Emory Lyon, Ph. D.: First Lessons in American Socialism, by Prof. C. E. Persinger, of the University of Nebraska, a series of articles, commencing with "American Socialism Defined." This series will be of great value to beginners in the study of Socialism and will also aid those already enlisted in the cause to a clearer understanding of its fundamentals.

The editor has been urged to devote more space to the discussion of matters at his own hand. Beginning with the January issue the department "With the Editor," will therefore occupy five pages instead of three.

A large number of advance subscriptions still remain unpaid. Will our friends please remit promptly and save us the trouble and expense of sending bills?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?



In pagan times the man who would corner provisions to raise the price of living for the poor would be put to death. That was good natural pagan justice. The millionaires who have cornered our pro-

visions and raised their price on the working people deserve the same fate."—Father O'Brien of Toledo, O.

It is plain that an upheaval is coming in the United States, the effects of which no man can in the least forecast, and the real ruling class seems to be as blind to the danger as stuffed owls in a glass case.—London Standard.

There will be no demand to export goods in order that manufactories may be kept in operation and their employees at work when the workers are paid enough to enable them to buy the goods they manufacture.—Canadian Socialist.

"The answer of Socialism to the capitalist is that society can do without him just as society now does without the slave owner or the feudal lord, both of which were formerly regarded as necessary to the well-being and even the very existence of society."

—Prof. Wm, Clarke.

The subject of Socialism is not one to be ignored nor to be sneered out of discussion by the beneficiaries of the oligarchy of wealth. It is receiving the best thoughts of the best minds of the most enlighteded nations of the earth.—Seattle Daily Times.

Did you ever notice with what daredevil bravery Democrats and Republicans rush up to the very windows of the postoffice and call for the mail? Seemingly, they fail to realize that it is one of the most intensely Socialistic institutions on earth. Wonder why these fellows who are so afraid of Socialism will do this? They ought to know that it is dangerous.—Living Issues.

The trusts are teaching us inevitably that competition is antiquated; that organization is the basis of industry. They are teaching us that it is feasible and neccessary for the nation to take possession of and manage its own properties, industrial as well as others.—Chicago American.

"Let the people own the trusts" is a slogan that is resounding throughout the length and breadth of the land; and the swelling chorus from factory and farm, from mill and mine, is shaking the old political parties to their foundations, and keeping their leaders in a quandary as to the best method of fooling the people once more—Saginaw Exponent.

"The impressive reply which cialism made to the trust system in its enormously increased vote thruout the country, followed by Dr. Lyman Abbott's drastic declaration the Socialist movement would prove to be irresistable in America, has suddenly arrested the attention of thinking men to the swiftly-growing strength of the co-operative republic idea. Already there are nearly 5,000,-000 persons in the United States who call themselves Socialists-the prejudice against the central idea is rapidly disappearing."-James Creelman in the New York World.

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What care I for caste or creed? It is the deed, it is the deed; What for class and what for clan? It is the man, it is the man; Heirs of love, and joy, and woe; Who is high, who is low? Mountain, valley, sky and sea, Are for all humanity.

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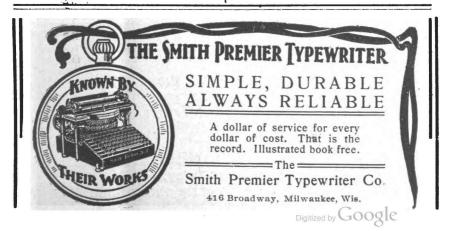
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The Angel of Discontent.

ND he dwelt with man in the caves of the hills, Where the crested serpent stings, And the tiger tears and the she wolf howls, And he told of better things.

ND he led man forth to the towered town, And forth to the fields of corn; And he told of the ampler work ahead For which his race was born.

ND he whispers to men of those hills he sees
In the blush of the golden west;
And they look to the light of his lifted eye
And they hate the name of rest.

A hope that is high and brave,
And the madness of war comes into his blood
For he knows himself a slave.

THE serfs of wrong in the light of that eye
March on with victorious songs;
For the strength of the right comes into their hearts
When they behold their wrongs.

That error's mists are rent-A guide to the table land of Truth Is the Angel of Discontent.

ND still he looks with his lifted eye,
And his glance is far away,
On a light that shines on the glimmering hills
Of a diviner day.

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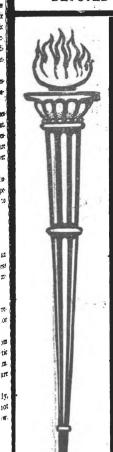


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VOL. 1

JANUARY, 1903

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P. G. Wright, Supreme GREEN B

THE VANGUARD

"COME, JOIN IN THE ONLY BATTLE WHEREIN NO MAN CAN FAIL; WHERE WHO SO FADETH AND DIETH, YET HIS DEED SHALL STILL PREVAIL."

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EDITORIAL

30

REVELATION

We believe in continuous inspiration progressive revelation. when we say this we are affirming, not questioning, the essential faith of the past. We believe not less but more in God, not less but more in the message of Jesus, not less but more in the genius of the Bible and the real significance of its promises when we say with Lowell:

"God is not dumb, that he should speak no more:

If thou hast wanderings in the wilderness.

And find'st uot Sinal, 'tis thy soul is poor;

There towers the mountain of the voice no less.

Which whose seeks shall find.

Slowly the Bible of the race is writ, And not on paper leaves nor leaves of each succeeding age. stone;

Each age, each kindred adds a verse to it,

Texts of despair or hope, of joy or moan.

Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit."

tion? The seers of the ages all look every side, producing nobler ideals,

PRESENT INSPIRATION AND forward, not backward, to the days of fuller and grander outpouring and indwelling of the Spirit.

> Indeed, the very truth of past inspiration and revelation is bound up with the inspiration and revelation of the present and the future. Not of God ceasing to speak to men as the centuries move on, do the prophets write, but of God speaking to men in increasingly audible voice or rather of men becoming increasingly attentive to the Voice and perceptive of the Truth. Not of revelation closed and the Spirit silent does Jesus teach, but of revelation in more glorious measure and of the ever fresh word of the Spirit as the years go by. So that belief in the prophets and in the Master involves belief in the inspiraand revelation of our time and of

Moreover, even those who say they believe only in the inspiration and revelation of the past, still hope and pray for a better world thus confessing the faith they would fain deny. For the world's betterment can only Do those who say they believe sole- come through a higher, diviner life, ly in the inspiration of the past and its through an increasing knowledge of rich deposit of truth, who hold so ten- the Truth, a more direct and intimaciously to the orthodox view of the Bi- ate communion of the soul of man ble,—do they ever think that it is ab- with the Over-Soul. And this is what solutely impossible for them to really we are witnessing and experiencing believe the teachings of past inspira- in these good new days. A great tion without also believing that the flood of Divinity is sweeping over hupresent is a time of greater inspira- manity and pressing in upon us at

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intenser convictions, and deeper faith The following paragraphs are from in the eternal verities. The only real the published report: infidelity lies in resisting it by the petty conceits of outworn theories, by believed, produce character. would enter. Let us thank God for character leadership the world is being carried not imitate him now? She was conforward. Let none who bears the sistent. name Christian be guilty of ston- "Among enlightened nations this of superstition are being brushed aside, the barbarism of mediæval theology is giving place to an intelligent and exalted conception of God and man, and the Gospel of Love and Service is becoming the power of the Eternal unto the world's redemption.

THEOLOGY AND CRIME

The ex-chaplain of the Minnesota cently delivered a lecture in Frater- ly furnish a strong argument in favor nity Hall. Milwaukee, on the relation between the doctrines furnish food for thought to those who, the testimony given to the wholesome in the face of science, reason and con- moral influence of the new or liberal science still uphold the crude and un-theology. It has been repeatedly moral theology of the past. After charged by the defenders of mediæval referring to the influence of belief dogmas that modern views tend to

"Religious theories, really held and selfish "schemes" of salvation, by character corresponds to the theory. pious flummery, sectarian prejudice If the theory teaches that 'God is and commercial greed, which narrow angry,' subject to violent outbursts of the vision and contract the soul. Let temper, capable of vindictive and us make way for the new life that cruel punishment, the worshipper's corresponds. When the prophets of today, a great host of 'Bloody Mary' was beheading Protesmen and women, who speak as they tants she justified her course by the are moved by the Holy Spirit as truly theory that God would punish these as any of old time and through whose heretics eternally. Why should she

ing these prophets. They are the doctrine has nearly lost its force as a heralds of the Kingdom that is com- living influence. But there is a docing. They are believers in the God-tine which still has tremendous sway. life in man, preachers of actual right- I refer to vicarious punishment. In eousness in the face of the sneers of just so far as this dogma is a living cunning ecclesiastics and corrupt poliforce it is wholly pernicious, blinding ticians. Through them the sins and the judgment, confusing the conscishams of society are becoming more ence, turnishing a ready excuse to apparent and abhorrent, the cobwebs those inclined to self-indulgence by having ready another person to shoulder the punishment of guilt while they go free on profession of a certain belief. This doctrine makes nonsense of all laws of cause and effect, supplants the scripture statement that 'whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap,' ignores the principle of moral sequence and of every 'established law of science."

With these statements we find ourstate prison, W. H. Harrington, re- selves in full accord and they certainof an ethical and rational interpretaof tion of Christianity. But what is 'of and crime, which should even greater value in this address is upon conduct, the speaker pointed loss of the sense of moral obligation out the evil effect of the teaching that and consequent laxity of conduct. a person may sin and then, by simply We have stoutly maintained the very "believing" be freed from punishment. opposite to be the case and we are al faith. And he pointedly adds:

These modern movements in religion mentous crisis of all history. have no magical cowardly scheme by which men can escape the results of not see this. their own responsible conduct. will 'save' then."

THE SOCIAL CRISIS

"Socialism is inevitable." It may seem almost unnecessary to repeat this, yet there are persons who are still ready to deny the possibility of such a thing and to scoff at the suggestion. There are those who contemn the cry for justice that is going up all over the land, who regard the social unrest and agitation of our day as the whining of malcontents and the work of cranks, and who dismiss the whole subject as unworthy the notice of sober minded citizens. And if such an attitude is becoming exceptional, there are still numbers who, while admitting in a general way the existence of grievances and the need of some measures of relief, have but little conception of the gigantic proportions which the discontent and demand for justice have assumed, and who have most mistaken conceptions of the real character and significance of the Socialist movement of our time.

The simple fact is that in the Uni-

not surprised when Mr. Harrington and in all the more enlightened and now declares that, while most of the progressive nations of the earth the convicts which have come under his social ferment has increased in force care have held some religious belief, and volume during the past few years among them all he has never found until today it may be said that civilone who had been reared in the liber- ization is rocking amid the throes of industrial revolution and government "The reason is not far to seek, is called upon to face the most mo-

The man must be blind who does No greater fallacy They could exist than that which dismisses all teach that we must build characthe social problem with lightness or ter if we would receive the benefits attempts to answer the questions that crown character. This applies raised with the time-worn charge of with particular force to the young "dangerous agitators" against those people who cannot be urged too who seek a scientific and practical strongly to avoid indulgence and solution of the problem. The rising drifting, under the delusion that tide of public sentiment in the direcwhen stranded some magic or miracle tion of industrial democracy can no longer be treated with indifference, nor can its demands be satisfied with anything short of a full, fair, frank, fearless treatment of the facts of the case.

Time was when a great social philosopher, writing under the shadow of monarchy, wrote "The whole fabric of society will be destroyed if the poor, as well as the rich, are educated." Think of it! Time was when the exploiters of the people, because of the ignorance of the people, could settle every question of human rights with a "wink." But the time of that ignorance is past, and the God of Humanity now commands the exploiters everywhere to desist. The philosopher was right. The "whole fabric" of the capitalistic ideal of society is about to be destroyed. But a grander fabric of Human society is about to take its place. The people can be "fooled" no longer. The social problem, as Dr. Lyman Abbott puts it, has been reduced to the simple proposition, whether we, of the twentieth century, are going to be governed by a plutocracy or a democracy, and there can be no doubt as to what our ted States, in England, in Germany decision will be. It is already formed

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in the consciences of the people and thing ought to be aimed at: that the the next few years will see it worked interest of each individually, and of out in the gradual but certain accept- all collectively, should be the same, ance of the principles of the Co-oper- for if each should grasp at his indiative Commonwealth. and inevitably do the demands of the would be dissolved?" Such teaching social conscience and the application stands in noble and marvellous conof the principles of democracy to in- trast with that of Dr. Hillis which can dustry lead to Socialism, that the only be described as "a wolf philosomost acute thinkers of our day do phy of life." not hesitate to say "Socialism is irresistible and ought not to be resisted."

GOSPEL OF THE JUNGLE

The most serious and deplorable effect of the Hillis tirade against Socialism and trade unionism is the widening of the breach, already so wide, between the churches and the It is true that Dr. wage workers. Hillis sadly misrepresents the real spirit of the Christian church and the Christian ministry of this country, but from the prominence he occupies his words cannot but have an influence for ill which it will take the churches years and years to counteract. His doctrine of individualism is nothing short of a travesty of the higher life. Nav. we do an injustice. paganism sider that we are born for the good tion; of the whole?"

So logically vidual interest, all human society

The competitive system is at best a fierce combat with the prize of success going not to the best man but to the strongest and shrewdest and in most cases to the most unscrupulous fighter. Nothing could be more directly contrary to the gospel of peace and good-will. Christianity recognizes the need of a powerful incentive in the development of individual character and proclaims it in the beauty and joy of emulation where all may strive and none need lose, in contrast to the cruelty of competition where whoever wins does so at the expense of his fellows.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION

Facts have been called the fingers Gospel of Christ, while his severance of God. "Know and you will feel. of Paul's words "Every man shall Know and you will act," are the bear his own burden," from the con- concise words of the Dean of Llandaff. text, "Bear ye one another's burdens A kno vledge of the simple facts of and so fulfill the law of Christ," is not the situation is what is most needed even honest dealing with the Apostle's in dealing with the social problem thought. If individual excellence is which confronts us today. In vain to be found in each man seeking his shall we look for any real progress or own selfish development, and if fel-permanent betterment of conditions lowship of interest is a detriment to in our social and political life until manly character, then Christianity the people are brought face to face is a false light and we must look to with the actual facts of the case. "Scpaganism to point the way to the cial reform," said Henry George, "is even not to be secured by noise and shout-Did not ing; by the formation of parties, or the grand old pagan, Seneca, declare: the making of revolutions; but by the "We are members of one great body, awakening of thought and the progplanted by nature in mutual love, and ress of ideas. Until there be correct fitted for social life. We must con-thought, there cannot be right acand when there is correct And was it not an- thought, right action will other pagan, Cicero, who wrote: "One Power is always in the hands of the

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is their ignorance, their own short- at once the utter impossibility of sesightedness."

of the hour and one to which Social- ter travel slowly on the right road ists in particular should give heed. than rapidly on the wrong one." They must inform themselves. They must understand what Socialism is, Socialist education. and be ready to give an intelligent answer to every one that asks for a reason of the hope that is in them. All real Socialists can already do this. Indeed, we do not believe that there is any body of men who have so thorough a grasp of economic facts and principles, and who are so invincible in discussion as the intelligent Socialists of today. It is a common thing to hear the remark, even from those who object to the Socialist program, "Well, after all, the Socialists have the best of the argument." They certainly have, but there are many who call themselves Socialists who as vet have a meagre understanding of the movement, and who injure it by a of Socialist ideas and the frank recog- sue. and form classes for systematic study. be worth much to our cause. It is only by this means that permanent progress can be insured. And it long to side-track the movement by ponent of scientific Socialism. from old party politicians.

masses of men. What oppresses men cialist position and demand will see curing the desired end by political This is a fine statement of the need "deals" and old party tactics. "Bet-

We repeat, the need of the hour is

IN BRIEF

We believe in the possibility of making the Christ-spirit dominant in all the relations of men to each We further maintain that other. there is no more dangerous form of unbelief or atheism prevalent today than that which, while professing to "believe" in Jesus and while calling him "Lord, Lord," persistently denies the practicability of his teaching in every day life and seeks to excuse its inconsistency and selfishness with the plea that the world is not vet ready for the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount.

We would call special attention to zeal that lacks knowledge. The great the series of articles on American danger to the movement at this time Socialism, by Prof. Clark E. Persingis from too rapid increase of such er, of the University of Nebraska, The growing popularity the first of which appears in this is-These articles constitute a nition by leaders of public opinion course of instruction in the principles that their triumph is "inevitable," - and methods of Socialism and are inthe very success of the movement is tended specially for those who are not a source of weakness. Hence to con-Socialists, They may not convert all serve our gains there is need of edu- who read them to Socialism, but they cation within the ranks. Socialists will certainly give all who read them should address themselves earnestly carefully a better understanding of to this duty, should read and circu- what Socialism is, and a broader symlate scientific works on the subject, pathy with its aims. And this will

"The dead level proposed by Socialis by this means that we can antici- ism" is a figment of the capitalist pate and head off the attempts which brain. It has no existence in the will most assuredly be made before teaching of a single accredited exoffers of compromise and "fusion" who throw off such phrases do but ex-Those hibit their ignorance of the subject who thouroghly understand the So- they undertake to discuss. An erratic

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religious exchange commences a par- pointed out that the hardest workers agraph with the sentence: "Social for Socialism have labored for years, democracy would reduce all men and have given up their lives to it. with--the dead level of wage slavery and friend with the folly of his sacrifices ability and worth.

against the advocates of Socialism ing it now we are helping to bring it is that of selfishness. It is said that that much nearer." their motive is a sordid one, that there is no class of reformers who are they are working solely with a view to laboring for less material reward and securing better food and clothing and with less selfish motive that the Somore time and money to devote to cialist advocates of today. Wonder selfish ends. The absurdity of this if those who make this charge reappears when it is said in the same gard capitalism and monopoly as the breath that Socialism is too Utopian acme of unselfishness, and the advoto ever become realized, and the fal- cates of competition as inbued with sity of the charge is seen when it is the altrustic spirit!

all classes of men to the same level." out any expectation that they would It would be difficult to state more ac- ever participate in the benefits it is curately what Socialism would not do. to confer on humanity. We call to Socialism would prevent the whole- mind the devotion of one pioneer in sale reducing of men to the same level the movement who, when taxed by a would give all men an opportunity to of over twenty years for the cause, rise according to their individual replied, "Of course, I do not hope to see Socialism in my time and it may not come in the time of my children, but One of the commonest charges made it is the right thing, and by advocat-The truth is

TO OUR FRIENDS: WE WANT YOUR HELP

and energies in the movements of whom we would like to hear. today which we believe are making for human betterment. We are here "For the cause that lacks assistance, ''Gainst the wrongs that need resistance,

For the good that we can do."

We therefore feel free to call upon present subscribers to take a personal interest in the success of what we may call "Our Magazine." THE VAN-GUAD is yours, and its influence depends on your willingness to help the editor reach the largest possible constituency.

Some of our friends have been busy from the first and continue sending your response.

THE VANGUARD is not published to in new names at an encouraging rate. make money. Every dollar received From the live little town of Clark, S. goes back into the publication. Our D., comes the largest single club with sole aim is to produce a bright, up-to- 58 names. Others have done equally date, helpful magazine for thinking well, that is, they have done their people and to enlist their sympathies best. But there are still others from

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EACH IN HIS OWN TONGUE

By WILLIAM HERBERT CARRUTH

A fire-mist and a planet. A crystal and a cell,-A jelly-fish and a saurian, And caves where the cave mendwell: Then a sense of law and beauty And a face turned from the clod,-Some call it Evolution, And others call it God.

A haze on the far horizon,-The infinite, tender sky,-The ripe, rich tint of the corn-fields, And the wild geese sailing high,-And all over upland and lowland The charm of the golden-rod.-Some of us call it Autumn. And others call it God.

Like tides on a crescent sea-beach When the moon is new and thin. Into our hearts high yearnings Come welling and surging in,-Come from the mystic ocean, Whose rim no foot has trod,-Some of us call it longing, And others call in God.

A picket frozen on duty,-A mother starved for her brood,-Socrates drinking the hemlock, And Jesus on the rood: And millions who, humble and name-The straight, hard pathway trod,-Some call it consecration. And others call it God. LAWRENCE, KAS.

LEARNING TO LOVE

By REV. BENJAMIN FAY MILLS



he sees that he is devoting his attenfor a larger purpose.

may transact the world's business, or because we desire to master other sciences, such as physics or astronomy. We study language so that we may be able to read and understand what others have written and to express ourselves intelligibly and forci-

HIS world is a school. We may know the greatest thoughts of study any subject better the greatest men and make them when we have advanced seed for our mental and moral develfar enough to have an opment. We study history so that object beyond the study we may understand the world of men, itself. At first the child its progress and prospects, and better studies because he is told master the problems of the present to do so, but after a time time. We study the natural sciences, the simplest and the so that we may discover the constituhardest studies take on a tion and forces of the material uninew significance, because verse and adapt them to the welfare of mankind and the more speedy evotion to them not for themselves but lution of our destiny. We study economics so that we may discover, if We study mathematics so that we possible, the laws of the production and distribution of wealth and may wisely co-operate in achieving the best results for all and by the help of all. We study philosophy so as to coordinate all human knowledge, and by the exercise of the highest reason discern the secret meaning of all exbly. We study literature in our own perience, and pierce to the Reality and other tongues in order that we which we believe to exist behind the

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oping his physical body.

powerfully. The only object of going sake. to school in this great world seminary, est word, and synonymn of God."

keep wealth, nor for the purpose of their highest nature. founding families; nor for developing the lesser in the larger self.

impermanent shadow. But after all, service. The beauty of the service of the greatest value of learning is not the baby is that we are all its slaves the acquisition of knowledge, but the without hope or expectation of redevelopment of our own powers, ward, and the more helpless the baby There is no real education that comes the more perfect its mission in deto man through study except the anding the allegiance of the wise educing,—the drawing out of himself, and strong. But after awhile the -that which is already there. The baby who, when he cried, has been gymnast or the athlete may be inci- soothed by something that he wanted, ted to greater endeavor by some prize is now soothed in a different way. The held before him or by public applause, mother says, "Please don't cry, darbut what he is really doing is devel- ling, it hurts mamma to have you cry." And the baby ceases, as an un-Now, if we can comprehend the selfish contribution to his mother's purpose of this great world-school, if comfort, and that is lesson number we can see the purpose of its hard les- one. And so, when a little older, the sons, then we can live to better effect girl grows thoughtful and the boy and can work more intelligently and pure for the mother's and father's

Then there is more than one baby. is the production of perfect individ- There are babies taking care of bauals in a perfect society; in other bies. There are brothers and sisters words, to teach us to be lovers. "God entering into a co-operation so permade Man men,"says an ancient phil- fect, that it seems to be no mere acosopher "in order that they might cidental mechanical union, but a real love one another." Love is the find- joining in one organization of the difing of one's place in the universe, the ferent lives, so that some of our socoming into appropriate relationship, cial philosophers tell us that not the the key to the knowledge of God and individual, but the family is the unit of man. Man's highest prerogative of society. "Happy is the man that and potency is love; "love is our high- hath his quiver full of them," says the old poet, speaking of children in It is my opinion that we are here in the home. Happy is the home that this world in order that we may learn 'has many children and when, for selby contact with events and circum- fish reasons, the home has only one or stances and people, with the actual a few, always the selfishness rises up world, the great lessons of unselfish- and smites, with a deadly blow, those ness. We are not here to get or to who have been acting contrary to

The larger social life is meant to the search for happiness; nor for the teach us to learn to love. And inattainment of ordinary knowledge; congruous and deformed and somewe are here for just one purpose and times almost hideous as some parts of that is to learn how to be unselfish. ordinary social intercourse are, still Unselfishness regards the individual they cannot hide the beauty of its only as a part of the whole, and loses object. Our society word for a man, with the one adjective selected to We see this perfectly in the family qualify him, by the consent of the The baby at first does not learn civilized world, is gentleman,-the anything but helps those who care for gentle man. What is your conception it to develop capacity for unrequited of a gentleman or a lady? Not some-

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and time to spend frivolously. No. for the last days, and I say the last preferring one another."

questions of relationship between la- the direction of the common good and bor and capital. It required a long needs only a wise democratic purpose time for a man to begin to believe and management to move the world that the world's work could be done forward a whole millenium, before unselfishly. We are just now begin- this century shall be ten years old. ning to see that it must be done un- The economic affairs of the world canselfishly in order to be well done. The not be run for the benefit of the few. whole question of work and wages It may take us four hundred, one and property has fought its battles in hundred, forty or four years to disthe lower courts with conflicting de- cover this, or we may see it now, if cisions and with perplexing results, we will, and enter into our kingdom. and now it is about to be appealed to the Supreme Court of universal law, whole country learning to love, where for final settlement, and this court is the Government insures the lives of the tribunal of Human Brotherhood, the people, owns the railroads, and tem that cannot justify itself before administers all these for the people, hood is doomed.

tively alone, we cannot do our work country children to see the sights, effectively in competition with one an- and others going out with the city other, and it is not the Socialists who children for a day in the country. are saying this with most force,—it is The government operates a Postal world this lesson. will and one management. others not seeing it, but being urged old people who need them.

one who has money to throw away are simply heaping treasure together He is a real gentleman, she is a gen-days with a smile for "the last day is uine lady, who have learned some- not a judgment but a consummation." thing more than their fellows of the When these interests are selfishly adlessons of unselfishness, and the motto ministered or in opposition to other of all polite society is this,—"In honor interests of the people, they may be glaringly inappropriate and incon-So with business and with all the gruous, but the general trend is in

New Zealand in an illustration of a Any social, economic or political systelegraph and telephone lines, and the highest ideal of Human Brother- rather than for private profit. If you stand in the city station, you will We cannot do our our work effec- see free trains coming in with the captains of industry and the Saving bank, and superintends the lords of finance who are teaching the whole banking system, so there is no They are telling stealing of the people's funds. It is us that for the world's sake the pro- breaking up the great unused estates duction and the marketing of oil must for the landless, until the tramp has be in the hands of one company; and lost his occupation, and is settling that the making of the backbone of down to be a citizen and land holder. the civilized world, steel, must be It imposes progressive income and managed by one company; and that land taxes, causing the burdens to the fuel of the world must be under fall where they can easily be borne. one control; and that the transporta- Industrial war is at an end. The govtion system must be subject to one ernment makes advances to settlers These who want to found homes, and loans men, some of them I believe seeing money on any kind of produce; it this and smiling within themselves at markets the products of the soil, and misrepresentations, and some of the live stock, and it gives pensions to all on blindly and yet divinely, these men other plans about to put in operation

promoting Brotherhood, and helping ian organization of irreligious excluthe people politically and economical-siveness on account of men's opinions ly to love one another. questions of tariff or free trade, of the persede armed conflict.

to the nostrils and spread moral and mental malaria over the minds and consciences of the people. We do not endorse any church that is a fortress of reactionary economics, or the apologist of ill-gotten wealth. We see how sadly misrepresentative of the true religious spirit is the church OAKLAND, CAL.

also exemplify the idea Brotherhood. which is merely a social club for the Government should be a device for privileged classes, or a narrow sectar-So the or customs.

But a church as an association of open door or exclusion, of war or lovers, to propogate love in all the repeace, are to be answered by this lationships of life, to exemplify unprinciple. It may have been right selfishness in the perfect conduct of for partly developed humanity to its members, and to insist upon pracfight in the past and yet "show I un- tical brotherliness as the remedy for to you a more excellent way." Arbi- all individual, social, economical tration and mutual service are to su- and political evil, and the inspiration for the production of knowledge, com-From a correct standpoint, the fort, wisdom and efficiency; the church church should be the great school of that should read the unsolved riddles love, the generator of the loving spir- of the ages and establish such a perit. We have no use for a church as a fected human society on earth as to guardian of dead dogmas, which it make unnecessary the ancient coninsists are alive and exposes to the ception of Paradise, in this we bepublic gaze, until they are an offense lieve as we believe in no other association of men.

> "For two commandments are all the law And the prophets under the sun, And the first is last and the last is first And the twain are verily one.
>
> There are steeple houses on every hand,
> And pulpits that bless and ban, And the Lord will not grudge a single church That is set apart for man,

THE ESSENCE OF REFORM

By F. EMORY LYON, Ph. D.



of this lies not merely in al world in which they lived. that it was spoken of dethusiasm and persistency

of a profound religious conviction and he will actually change the world so far as his influence goes. The relig-

THINK it was Mazzini who Phillips was practically absorbed in said, "He who shall make the cause of abolition, and it must be of democracy a religion confessed that they did somethingwill change the face of the world will never know how much The truth -to change the civic, racial and mor-

Probably the most convincing voice mocracy. Let a man en- in the temperance field today is that ter upon any conscienti- of John G. Woolley, and if he makes ous reform with the en- any distinction between his prohibition principles and his religion, most people have not been able to detect Similarly with Christ as a reformer and a preacher of righteousious life of Garrison and of Wendell ness, he made no real distinction be-

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tween the regeneration of the indiv- as it seems to me, in all reform of the idual and the transformation of soci- present time, than just this fulfillety. He entered upon each with what ment of justice. There is a tendency has seemed to some the enthusiasm to overlook this element and try to of fanaticism, and which was in fact skip it. But the truest reformers the consecrated purpose of a Divine have been most Christlike in this remission. Following in his footsteps spect. The call of the hour to "fulthe Church will best fulfill his law of fill the law" is the command of justice. righteousness and love and by putting Justice is what the people want. So more practical reform into her reli- it is that the poor want not alms, but gion, and more genuine religion into a friend; not to be pitied or patronher reform.

We hear much in these days about "going back to Christ," while the enthusiastic reformer replies "forward to Christ," until we hardly know which way to turn. Do we not find the solution in the justice of Christ's who shall restore the book of the law plea to "fulfill the law?" "Back to Christ," indeed, if it please you until Where are the good Josiahs to rule every jot and tittle of God's eternal over us, who shall recognize the value law be recognized. "Back to Christ" until every statesman shall know that debris of forgotten formalism? Where the decalogue has something to do are the people ready to stand to the with legislation. "Back to Christ" until each business man and corpora- eousness? For nothing less than this tion shall admit the Golden Rule as and nothing more is the law Christ the law of equity. "Back to Christ" came to fulfill. Justice and rightuntil our righteousness shall exceed eousness are interchangeable, trans-Then "forward" with Christ until the form us into the same glorious char-Messianic ideals of the prophet shall acter. And the only possible perverfind fulfillment, and the Kingdom of sion of the law of justice or righteous-Heaven comes.

Christ's law is not necessarily reac-fillment of its spirit, like the Christ. tion. It may be the truest reform and advance. We say of the child he nevertheless not a negative process. must creep before walking and walk He came not to destroy men by their before he can run. We exhort men passions, but to build them up by to be just before they are generous. their virtues. He provided for the So must civilization deal justly before destruction of evil impulses by fulfillit can love mercy. A nation must ing the object of being. Thus by this find justice before it can realize liber- method the transformation of the ty. The Church must fulfill the law world comes, not so much by prohibiof common honesty in each iota ere tion as by substitution. "The evil is it will proclaim the gospel of love to be overcome by the good" the law with power.

This is Christ's unalterable method of making the world better. And that has made the Kindergarten so there is nothing more fundamental, Divinely successful, and the highest

ized, but only their full cup of justice. And it is only by the discovery and administration of this justice that society will ever enable her weaker members to stand alone.

Oh, where is the modern Hilkiah, of social justice to the people of God? of this law and restore it from the covenant of justice, equity and rightdead letter of conventionality. lated from the same word, and transness is the obedience to its letter. The going back to the justice of like the Pharisees, instead of the ful-

> But Christ's method of reform is not destroyed but fulfilled.

> It is the essence of this principle

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college cannot find a better method, acted. Considering all He had to acerror. fold more powerful.

ing more than yourself." It was ac- our highest life as well as theirs. cording to this method that Christ CHICAGO, ILL.

According to the spirit of this teach- complish for the world we are someing the truth will not be learned by times surprised that He referred so Emphasize the often to Himself. He has ever been truth and its opposite will be forgot-accused of arrogance on this account. ten. Likewise teach the good, and But when Christ was referring to let it fill the life, and the evil will be His own relation with the Father, and crowded out before we know it. Let consecrating Himself to His mission. every evil influence and institution be He was only fulfilling in the surest not advertised by opposition, but re- way the law of the world's transformplaced by a righteous institution ten- ation. And of this great world process of reform we are all a part. We In fact the true method of reform cannot leave it to Christ or to Hisspiracts continually from within outward, it working in an impersonal way. He from center to circumference, from must work through us as individuals individual salvation to social redemp- and as a Church. Every man, whethtion. Neither is fulfilled without the er church member or not has his work other. An obscure writer has said, to do in reforming and transforming with profound wisdom: "You can nev. his community. For thus shall we be, er be a true reformer as long as you with Christ, the truest saviours of our believe somebody else needs reform- fellow men, fulfilling the purpose of

LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

AMERICAN SOCIALISM DEFINED



late into everyday terms law. a type of Socialism peculiar to themselves and their style of national life. And perhaps I can

best define what American Socialism is, by first making clear what it is not.

SOCIALISM IS NOT ANARCHY

In the first place, Socialism is not anarchy. Anarchy in its best, its philosophical, form, supposes the perfect man, and the absence of all necessity of law. In its worst form it

Y only endeavor in these means the freeing of individual pasarticles will be to trans- sion and power from all restraint by Socialism, on the contrary, those tendencies and am- means in its very worst form nothing bitions which I think more than that which is the common Americans of today are fault of all democracy-the occasional beginning to recognize as control of genius by mediocrity. In its better and actual form it means merely the advancement of the individual interest at the same time with. and not at the expense of, the general welfare. It means only, by its restraining power, to prevent one man from using his superior strength to injure or retard another of less strength. It means simply the protection of the industrially weak from the oppression of the industrially strong.

NEITHER IS IT COMMUNISM

Secondly, going to the other ex-

treme, Socialism is not communism. nationalization of monopolistic indus-Communism assumes the actual phys- tries. ical and mental equality of all men. away with all that kind of industrial Socialism does not. Communism in competition which is the cause of ecoits better form advocates the distri- no nic waste, while retaining and enbution of wealth according to need, couraging that competition which Socialism would, in general, distribute advances at the same time both the it according to ability and industry. Communism means the forcing of the best down to the level of the worst. Socialism means the progress of each man according to his own merit-except, always, that it will not permit him to pull down others in order to raise himself. Communism means the smothering of individual genius and ambition. Socialism means the encouragement and reward of all genius and of every ambition having in it no harm to the public.

NOR IS IT PATERNALISM

Paternalism means the assignment of to their individual progress and sucall work to the individual by some cess. It is a belief that the welfare superior. Socialism is the determin- of the individual is best promoted by ence in its citizens. the partnership of grown men.

NOT MERELY MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OR "SOCIAL REFORM"

Socialism comprehended within the terms "municipal ownership" and "social reform." These are parts of So- have a more or less complete philosocialism, but by no means the whole of phy of "natural rights" upon which it. Social reform—the extension of they build—but I believe I do speak ship much beyond the present stage American Socialism when I assert Social reform would not go beyond the on history and experience.

Socialism would utterly do individual and the general welfare.

THEN WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

But if Socialism is not anarchy, not. communism, not paternalism, not social reform, not municipal ownership, what is it?

IT IS INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

As nearly as I can express it: American Socialism is the reaching out of the national mind after industrial democracy. It is a clear and conscious feeling that men of strength and ability ought not to be allowed to make the great mass of the people, and the powerful ma-Nor is Socialism ever paternalism, chinery of government, merely aids ation of the work of each individual the progress of the whole people, and by himself and his own ability. Pat- that the individual good is always ernalism supposes the wisdom of the subordinate to the public good. It country in its government, and obedi- does not believe that industrial mon-Socialism sup- archy is any more "natural" or necesposes wisdom in every part, and makes sary than political monarchy. Yet it obedience the result of satisfaction, does not believe that the genius and not of compulsion. Socialism would talent of either industrial or political conform human law to natural law, kings ought to be suppressed. What Paternalism is the relationship of it does believe is that ambition and father and child; Socialism would be genius should be turned into channels where they may always produce good results, instead of half the time producing evil ones.

Neither is the whole of American A SENTIMENT SUPPORTED BY HISTORY AND BY EXPERIENCE

I do not speak for all-for many governmental and municipal owner- for the majority of the adherents of -is but one of several steps in the that our belief is based not so much progress toward complete Socialism. upon any philosophy or theory as up-

over a century ago political democraproducing an over-supply and stagnaarguments of "impossibility" increasingly triumphed, for it was a tion. true instinct, deeply grounded in the consciences of men. And it will be this same response of the popular mind to what it recognizes as another true and lasting principle that will give to the industrial democracy of Socialism that same broad acceptance and general approval which has now fallen to the lot of the one-time much-maligned political democracy.

AND IT HAS A DEFINITE PROGRAM

But in spite of the fact that it is a feeling rather than a formal theory. American Socialism is not a blind, unintelligent force, with no idea of the direction in which it wishes to move. In a broad way it may even be said to possess a definite policy or program, and that program is the socialization of the means and processes of production, exchange, and distribution.

IT WOULD REFORM PRODUCTION.

By the socialization of the means of production I mean this: It would make the whole people, and not a comparatively few, the owners of everything used in the production of wealth. This would include land, with its natural products both upon and below the surface, buildings, machinery, power-supplies - practically thing, in fact, except man himself. Then it would so combine, and distribute, and assign to each part of this machinery of production its particular duty, that the economic wastes of over and underproduction would be reduced to the minimum. And this it would do without destroying the customer's right of choice or changed demand. It would simply mean that intead of a hundred factories attemptng to cater to a new demand, and so

cy was being subjected to the same tion, a certain few would respond to. criticism of "idealism," to the same and not attempt to anticipate that and demand. And this control of the sup-"impracticability" as is the Social- ply would be what I have termed the ism of today. Yet democracy has socialization of the process of produc-

IT WOULD READJUST THE MEANS OF EXCHANGE

Socialism would also nationalize the means of exchange. It would give the people, through their legislative and civil service branches, the control of all railway and steamship lines, cable, telegraph, and telephone systems, etc., and enable then to so operate them that all parts of the country should receive their proportionate benefit, and no part be built up at the expense of the rest. And thus the processes of exchanging labor-products would work to the enrichment of all. and not, as now, to the excessive enrichment of the few.

AND WOULD CREATE AN EQUITABLE STANDARD OF DISTRIBUTION

Lastly, Socialism would establish a new standard by which the wealth produced by society should be distributed among its members. This it would do by paying every laborer according to the service he renders the public, and by supporting the helpless on the same principle that "mutual accident" associations are now conducted. It would set before the young man a number of professions. It would say to him: The whole line of progress through any of these is open to you, and your success rests solely upon your own ability and industry; all that is forbidden you is to use your own ability or success to hinder the progress of anyone else. To all incapable of labor it would give aid liberally, but without the humiliation of our present-day "charity."

THE SUM AND SUBSTANCE OF IT ALL This, then, is what I have meant by the term "American Socialism":a purpose, rather than a philosophy; a product of experience, rather than a theory: a belief that the whole people are better fitted to control their own industrial destiny, as well as their political, than is any individual or group of individuals; but above and beyond all else, a firm and steadfast determina-

tion that no man shall use his superior strength of mind or body to prevent any other man of less strength from enjoying the fruits of his own honest labor. In a word, American Socialism is nothing else than industrial democracy-an industrial life of the people, for the people, and by the people.

LINCOLN, NEB.

DOCTORS AND CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

By REV. SAMUEL T. CARTER



religious claims.

ative successes, while the doctors are of matter and body. indignant over its therapeutic failures.

HRISTIAN Science at- We are not at all sure but that the tracts attention more by doctors are fully as inclined to exagits therapeutic than its gerate the physical in sickness, and-It to forget the spiritual, as the Chrisclaims to heal, and un-tian Scientists are to neglect the doubtedly in many re- physical and exaggerate the spiritual. markable cases it has The tendency of medicine is almost healed. This has been wholly to shut the spiritual out of alike the great point the sickroom. Drugs are brought which it has made for it- in by the scores, but thought of God self, and which its critics and of the spiritual power in the unihave made against it. Those who be- verse are shut out. The patient is lieve in the movement dwell on inci- not to be execited by these things. dents, which are by no means few, Yet as a certain matter of fact, there where its ministry has most evident- are many cases where disease is the ly had a beneficial influence on physi- result of spiritual causes, and can be cal condition, while those who dis- affected by spiritual means. To deny credit it indicate the instances, which this fact is as fully to deny the naare also by no means few, where its ture and structure of this world and ministry has been exceedingly injur- of human bodies as to deny the facts ious to health, if not destructive to of matter and disease, as the Chrislife, Each confirms its own case by tian Scientists do. It is as unscientidwelling exclusively on its own class fic to deny the existence of conscience of facts. Its healers boast of its cur- and soul as it is to deny the existence

It may be that Christian Science has had such a measure of popularity For ourselves, we agree with the and success, even among thoughtful doctors that the movement is largely and intelligent people, because it has largely unscientific, dwelt on the fact that in disease a and often most injurious. Yet we ministry which tends to breed spiritwonder whether it may not be that ual confidence is exceedingly helpful. the doctors, and their methods, are The premises from which Christian not in a measure responsible for this Science healers have worked seem to movement and its partial success. us uninstructed and peculiar, but the

produce is a most proper state often to recovery of the gentle scholar." produce in cases of sickness. If that ing. It seems indisputable that ser- as something put into his stomach. ene confidence, trust in divine power

tongue faltering, his understanding body, aside from any direct spiritual lips Brooks, "but would see in the mend a dieting or a dose. power of Luther's healthy personality, in his robust, majestic manhood, a New York CITY.

state of mind and heart which they share of the powers working for the

For, after all, the soul of man is a state of mind were the result of corfact, a very great one; the connecrect principles inculcated, it would, tion of soul with body is most intimwe are convinced, be even more uni- ate, It would not be at all suprising versally helpful. It would often heal if something put into the soul of a disease, or help radically in the heal- man were as good for some headaches

We have no doubt that there are a to do what is right and patient look- multitude of cases where the excluing to God are as genuine and active sion of spiritual ministry has been as healing agents as quinine and bro- hurtful as the exclusion by the Christian Scientists of trained medical Phillips Brooks, in his essays, re- care. We urge, therefore, that for counts the case of Luther and Mel- the body's sake, which will be the Melancthon was at Wei-side of the case which the doctors mar very sick. His eyes were dim, his will see-for the reflex ministry to the almost gone. "Alas," complained ministry to the spirit of a man-we Luther, "that the devil should thus urge that the one thing which faithunstring so fine an instrument." cure and Christian Science have Then he knelt down beside his friend proved, namely, the fact of a healing and prayed. Then he stood up and influence of spiritual ministry, be cried: "Be of good courage, Philip; considered'in every case, and if the you shall not die. It is God's delight patient is one to whom such a ministo impart life, not to inflict death. try would be acceptable, let it be Trust in God, who can impart new recommended by our doctors to their life." "What physician," says Phil- patients as earnestly as they now reco-

MENTAL WEALTH

By EUGENE DEL MAR



to us.

is use that determines benefit to us only as we useless - the passive

And yet how few secure even a small the benefit of possessions fraction of the benefits that might and their permanence of readily be extracted from what they Whatever have! Think of the vast aggregaour wealth, it is of real tions of wealth that continue idle and understandits proper use. thought forces that are permitted to The wisdom we display in remain dormant, and the material this measures its return riches perishing for the lack of use! in the way of happiness, And then picture the millions of huso that the use to which man beings whose sufferings and agwe put our riches is of vital moment onies might be averted or relieved through a rightful use of these per-Digitized by GOOSIG

verted treasures! that is responsible for this conditionfishness and greed.

mines happiness. have only an indirect influence, and gies. pain, worry and other discords.

Nature is inexorable. ties. must promote harmonious environing discords. Each must learn the the cause of their troubles.

Natural principles will prevail de- by intensifying the cause. spite legal enactments and social and a true conception of the purpose ual expresssion of being. for one to be happy without material the most importance. wealth, but if he lacks tranquillity of

It is ignorance mind this is quite out of the questior.

Mental Wealth may be amassed onignorance of what life is and its true ly through use. We may each start Lacking this knowledge, our conscious direction of life with Fear rules the world, and breeds sel-differing opportunities in the way of wealth of every kind, but Nature calls It is Mental Wealth that deter- us to account for neglected oppor-Material riches tunities as well as misdirected ener-Society only concerns itself to the extent that they are transmut- with our actions. Nature takes us ed into Mental Wealth. In fact, to task for our thought, whether it large material possessions are apt to impels us to do or refrain from doing. seriously disturb our happiness, for It has our happiness at heart and they involve great responsibilities, tries to indicate what is to our best and, if not expended with due regard interests. This it does through an to the wellbeing of others, they will automatic and graduated system of restultify our growth and involve us in wards and punishments, which accurately express how near we have ap-No one may evade his responsibili- proached to what our highest welfare Each demands.

Those who suffer through the misments or suffer the penalty of result- guided use of wealth little understand lesson of use. Wealth involves op- general condition of mental restlessportunities for doing good, and its ness and disturbance that comes to wise expenditure in benefiting others them finally manifests itself in some furnishes a foundation for our per- form of physical infirmity. They atmanent happiness. Opportunity im- tribute these discords to almost any plies necessity for action. If it is in other source than the true one and our power to do great good to others, give to the symptoms such names as it is essential to our happiness that gout, congested liver, impaired circuwe do it. Failing this, it is inevitable lation, etc. And while they are carethat painful experiences should come fully nursing and trying to alleviate to us to teach us our ignorance or the painful result of their errors, they even more effectually add to it

It may be that all the while they customs. Wealth is meant for use, are regarded by the conventional and if not so devoted carries with it world as expressing most acceptable penalties that will ultimately enforce lives; but the Infinite, as it evidences the understanding of that truth, itself in the individual, is urging and When Wisdom displaces ignorance prodding them toward a more spiritof life is attained, poverty will be tracted sympathies of the selfish and eliminated and selfishness and greed no greedy carry with them their own longer be fostered. This condition punishments. Those who receive are will be approached as it comes to be seldom as quickly benefited as are recognized that Mental Wealth alone those who give, and it is the latter to is happiness-producing. It is possible whom the rightful use of wealth is of

Material wealth is necessarily fleet-

ing. It can be possessed but for a benefits it may confer, we will no short time, but it gives us the oppor- longer have any desire or attraction tunity of converting its temporary for it. benefits into qualities of permanent in doing for others what our oppor- a definite relation to our desires, it is tunities require.

harmony is attained and strength and sessions. beauty of character created. This is ing of the eternity of the Soul.

them. It is their spiritual qualities al experience. that we should absorb into our being. that in their temporary and uncer-incident to the struggle for it. tain tenure they would bring constant Beneficent Nature would impel us essences.

have extracted from any experience Mental Wealth. or from material wealth all of the 523 OPERA HOUSE BLOCK, DENVER, COL.

When we have possessed ourselves value. It is only loaned to us that of all the spirituality that material we may extract from it more endur- wealth may serve to confer. It would ing advantages. This can only be ac- be worse than useless to strive for it; complished through its wise use, and and as our power of attraction bears not likely that we would thereafter It is in this manner that mental be inflicted with great material pos-

It were well for us to extract from what is meant by Mental Wealth, material wealth as speedily as we which has no necessary connection may, all the Mental Wealth contained with merely intellectual attainments. in it, and thus free ourselves from de-It is a possession that death does not pendence on what is uncertain, perpart us from, a condition of growth ishable and enslaving. So long as we leading to a higher life, and partak- desire material wealth, however, we may know that we have yet to learn Material possessions come to us the full lesson of its use; and it is esthat we may secure the spiritual es- sential to our continued growth that sences that wise use may distil from we should be taught through addition-

We should not, therefore, repress Material wealth comes to teach us our desires for material wealth, but, how unessential it is, and how. with- on the contrary, should give full exout it, we may secure all the harmony pression to them. But when we have and happiness that its presence may absorbed from such wealth all its confer. Without this spiritual quality spiritual qualities it will no longer be material possessions would finally be- essential or even desirable to us; and come so essential to our happiness we will be freed from the inharmonies

pain and discord; and this is exactly to more spiritual attainments. It afwhat they now confer on those who fords the opportunities, but it leaves are unable to extract these spiritual to the individual the choice between a life of seeming pleasure that gives We are so constituted that power little evidence of its hidden pains, and poise may only be secured through and one of more permanent delight exercise, and both the spiritual and that is less inviting in appearance. physical aspects of our being are sub- If we are wise we will discern which ject to the same principles. And is the better alternative, and without when, through exercise or use, we hesitation prefer the cultivation of

We have the right to demand of theology an ethical God; have the right to demand that theology cease making out of God a social monster. Theology has been doing this last, for certain of its teachings are structurally immoral. - Rev. Judson Titsworth.

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BOOKS WORTH READING

(All publications mentioned in this department may) be procured from The Vanguard Press at quoted prices

THE RELIGION OF A MATURE MIND-By of religious faith. The very atmos-GEORGE A. COE, PH. D., Professor phere of life has divinity in it. of Moral and Intellectual Philosoguard Press.



profit. We have here a clear unmistakable message to the church of to-

day-a message which the church will do well to carefully consider. The author does not pose as a "Daniel come to judgment," but he certainly speaks with no uncertain sound. Matters touching the very soul and substance of Christian living are presented in a fresh and startling light. To dogmatic or emotional attitudes on the part of the church, he attaches little value, but for spiritual health, common sense and practical aggressiveness he enters an earnest, manly plea. Of what use is emotion if it does not lead to action, and if action is the end, why not go directly toward it? Dogmatism is a very small thing as compared with Christian experience. The future belongs neither to dogmatism nor mere ethical culture, As to the doubt and religious unrest there is in the world, the author is not specially alarmed by its presence. He believes there are great certain. ties by which we live, and these far outweigh the uncertainties that rean atheistic world, but into a world pretation of religion.

The character and contents of the phy, Northwestern University, Chi- volume are thus summarized by a cago: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price careful reviewer: It is intellectually \$1.35 net. For sale by The Van- bold and spiritually constructive. It frankly accepts the immanence of HOSE who have read Prof. God; the regularity of the divine or-Coe's previous work on der; religion as an evolution; the the psychology of relig- scientific spirit as essentially religion, "The Spiritual Life," ious; the final authority in religion will take up this book neither a church nor a book but the with high expectations, spiritual consciousness-not a compuland they will find it of sion from without, but an impulsion even greater interest and from within; conversion as a true "coming to oneself;" prayer, "not begging, but co-operation;" the consciousness of the divine as universal. though not always recognized as universal.

The place of the Christ in the Christion life is the thought around which this intensely interesting, suggestive, and practical work closes. Christ of experience must take precedence of the Christ of dogma. Not the affirming of Christ, but the experience of the Christ-spirit is what constitutes the basis of our discipleship. This vital thought is worked out with great force and beauty, and cannot fail to stimulate earnest men and women to adopt such ideals of life and methods of statement as will hasten the day of which Emerson spoke when he said we would yet arrive at a "statement of religion that would make all skepticism ridiculous." That the volume before us should come from a teacher in the Northwestern University so soon after Prof; Pearson's enforced resignation for conclusions so similar, is surely an indication that we are rapidly main. We have not been born into proaching the day of rational inter-

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WHAT SENSE! OR ECONOMIC NUTRITION. tal scientist should be without, it ap-

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name for himself in his wholesome cal susceptibility to mental influences. optimistic "Menticulture" and "Hapness," and in his equally sensible treatment of the social problem in "That Last Waif." The present work is also deserving of serious consideration in its plea for dietary reform. Mr. Fletcher is convinced that one meal a day is enough, and argues entertainingly to that effect. The day laborer would fare ill on this regimen, which might, however, be adopted with advantage by the overfed the world over. But for the majority of rational beings, while simplification is imperatively needed, the wisest thinkers in these lines would tell us that two meals are better than one. and that the body, for most of us, while ready to do far better work on less food than we at present take, still calls for two, -in invalid cases, for three moderate meals. However one may disagree with some of Mr. Fletcher's conclusions, anything that points the way to a simplification of living, especially of diet, does good service to a weary generation. We are constantly complicating not only in wants, but in elaborate service of those wants, and the table leads. There are few of us who might not experiment to advantage in the direction of "Plain Living and High Thinking."

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF HEALTH AND HAP-PINESS. By LA FOREST POTTER, M. New York: Temple Pub. Co. Price \$1.00. For sale by The Vanguard Press.

This is the sane, clear-headed, and thoughtful plea of a broad-minded and cultured physician for a better understanding between the old and the new schools of healing. While the book is one no physician or men-

By HORACE FLETCHER, Chicago: peals with equal force to the lay Herbert S. Stone & Co. 75 cents. reader by its lucid statements and interesting accounts of remarkable Mr. Fletcher has already made a modern instances illustrating physi-

LITERARY NOTES

The bright and exhibarating NEW THOUGHT, of Chicago, is now under the editorial charge of Ella Wheeler Wilcox and Willian Walker Atkinson; and the price has been reduced to 50 cents a year. We will send both THE VANGUARD and THE NEW THOUGHT for one year for 75 cents.

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE for January contains a critical sketch of Suderman's "Joy of Living," a discussion of "Tolstoi and Christian Socialism," a delightfully written story of "A Saxon Household," by the English poet of Democracy, Edward Carpenter; the "Religion of Humanity." by Eugene Del Mar; "A Modern Desert-ed Village," by A G. Hubert: "Millennial Dawn in Massachusetts," by Hon. John C. Chase, and editorials on the Impending Political Cyclone," the "President's Message," the "Divorce Problem" and current events. This number is unusually well illustrated and its typographical appearance is highly creditable.

THE COMRADE for January is a notable number. The articles poems are good as usual while the illustrations surpass any before seen in Socialist have Journals. There is for a front piece a magnificent pictoral cartoon by J. H. Morier with a striking verse by editor Spargo. Based on the present "coal famine" it shows a little girl scantily clad, picking bits of fuel from the city garbage in the midst of a snow storm. There are other excellent and seasonable cartoons by F. Dahme, and Ryan Walker in addition to several portraits, among these being a full page wood cut presentation of William Morris. .Among the articles of interest may be mentioned: "How I became a Socialist" by Father McGrady; "The God of Status Quo;" by Owen R. Lovejoy. Views and reviews and a heart to heart talk by editor Spargo together with poems by Ernest Crosby and Wm. L. Benessi complete the issue. The Comrade, 11 Cooper Square, N. Y.

SUGGESTION and OSTEOPATHY

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ON THE SOCIALIST FIRING LINE

By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD



side or the other. We are not far from the

great battle, judging by the increasing number of shots heard.

It is queer how many men seem to think themselves qualified to speak with authority about Socialism who have never read a single modern work on modern scientific Socialism. I know one minister who started in about three days before Sunday and "crammed" on the subject. Of course the Socialists who heard him laughed at him.

The American Federation of Labor has an opportunity to test its strength in the matter of the recent "ukase" issued by Postmaster General Payne, which declares that the United States Post Office will not permit the Union label to be exposed on matter passing through the mails. Even the familiar methods of the Russian censor appear in the effort to enforce this rulwith a large black smear, a blot upon and is compelled to do another. the eschutcheon of the A. F. of L. which we trust they will be able to remove in the near future.

The recent vote of the Socialists in this state is compelling a more complete organization of the movement, especially in the industrial centers. The movement toward organization by wards, where there was previously only one branch in a city, is going forward rapidly. This is necessary both as a protection from enemies, and as a guard against well-intentioned but uninformed sympathizers, who might wreck the party by securing control of it before they really the Socialist political method.

"Unser Wilhelm" seems to be getting panic-stricken over the danger in February. threatening "Ich und Gott" in the German Empire. His effort to divide At The Front.

The firing line is slowly the working people by appealing to creeping up into the them to organize a working-man's neighborhood of the party, with which he promises to cochurches. We are con-stantly hearing of more ists. An Emporer of the William ministers who are align-type inviting the co-operation of the ing themselves on one working men for their benefit reminds one of the spider and the fly.

> Say! Why do you suppose the men who do not believe in the Christian religion as a practical matter, who violate its principles every day of their business life, who rarely attend church, who don't care a rap what kind of theology the minister has, and never criticise him until he begins to talk about really practical things,-why do you suppose such men contribute toward the minister s salary and say that "we must have a church in the town?" They seem to consider it a business investment. What are they paying the minister to do? Can it be that they think of him as a kind of moral policeman who protects their property interests?

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I heard a Socialist working man the other day say that when a man became a Socialist, if he had been a drinking man before, he had to stop it. He gave as his reason that Socialists had to read and think, and

they could not do this and be drunk too. Moreover, he said, that if a Socialist did get careless in the matter, his comrades would take the matter up and insist on his being straight, "for the sake of the cause,"

Carl D. Thompson will spend two understand the unique character of months at least "on the firing line" in Wisconsin. There is great enthusiasm over the Milwaukee meetings. Green Bay is to have him five days in February. Hooray for Socialism!

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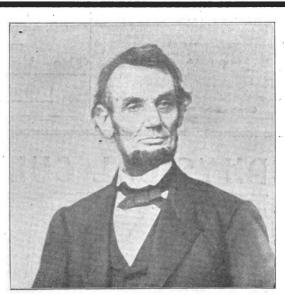


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NO. 4

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In his immortal Gettysburg address Abraham Lincoln spoke of our "unfinished work" and "the great task remaining before us," that "this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." What did he mean? When we recall his many striking utterances touching the rights of man and the relation between labor and capital, who can doubt but that his prophetic soul anticipated the conflict with corporate greed and oppressive money power in which we are now engaged. No better evidence of Lincoln's greatness could be found than the fact that in his warnings and counsels he indicated so clearly the very course which events have taken and suggested then what is still the only basis on which the social problem can ever be settled, namely, that of industrial democracy. The following is Lincoln's own inimitable language:

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"Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit to raise a warning voice against the approach of returning despotism. It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask brief attention. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could not have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves

much the higher consideration. I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering a power which they possess, and which if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost."

"In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race: 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' and since then, if we except the light and air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without first having cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things have been produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government."

"It seems strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces."

"The country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it."

These utterances are the very word of God for today. We especially commend them to the earnest consideration of those who, while claiming to be Lincoln's only legitimate political heirs, violate, in their political policies, his every principle of justice and slander his noble name by upholding the domination of capitalism against which he entered his emphatic protest. We are glad to know that an increasing number of Republicans are coming to comprehend the full meaning of the republicanism of Abraham Lincoln, which, applied to present conditions, leads logically and inevitably to Socialism.

THE PULPIT AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

The attitude of many professed followers of Christ in regard to the social problem that touches the everyday life of the common people is truly appalling. In thousands of churches all over this land, Sunday after Sunday, the pulpit goes on droning out platitudes to self-satisfied and drowsy congregations, only turning aside occasionally from the beaten path to take a fling at the so-called disturbers of the peace, the 'troublers of Israel' who have the effrontery to demand anything different from the present, while all the time the

very stones without seem to cry aloud for the gospel of social justice and brotherhood proclaimed by the Nazarene. At a noted reform gathering in New York City, some time ago, Dr. I. K. Funk, of the well-known publishing house of Funk & Wagnalls, acting as chairman, made the following remarks:

"May we expect, in the battle now on, the assistance of the clergy and the churches? No: with some noble exceptions, No! Christianity with its every heart-throb is on our side, Churchianity is against us. Christianity walks by faith, cares only for principle. Churchianity is obsequious, crawls in the dust; is always politic, cares for bread-and-butter, serves eternally the powers that be. Said Wendell Phillips, 'The average preacher averages lower in courage than the average coward among other men.' Too severe and sweeping? Yes. But history with its iron pen has written, never to be effaced, the awful verdict that there were to be found nowhere in the North more obsequious apologists for the buying and selling of Negroes than in the vast majority of the pulpits of the North."

It is difficult to escape the force of this strong arraignment of the pulpit, or to avoid its direct application at the present moment. The majority of the pulpits of this country are, apparently, as completely under the paralyzing influence of capitalism as the most servile political agent of Morgan or Rockefeller. And here we have the most pitiful aspect of mammonism and the most deadly peril which threatens our national life, the peril against which Lincoln raised his warning voice. The cold, cunning, heartless serpent of the money power has wormed its way and injected its poison into our social, commercial and political life, corrupting the springs of education and legislation until now it would eliminate all moral considerations from the church of God itself and throttle the national conscience.

"Religion," it is said, (in a way that means, 'You'd better believe it') "has nothing to do with social and political questions. They must be dealt with and settled according to the iron law of wages or the cruel strife of competition. Christian sentiment will not be permitted to interfere with modern business methods. A Christian man has a perfect right to exploit his brethren if he can do so within the law, and if he cannot do so within the law he has a perfect right to see that the law is framed so that he can do so. The preachers had better leave the ethics of buying and selling, mining and

manufacturing, voting and legislating to 'practical' men, while they stick to the 'gospel.' Their business is to teach the people Christian resignation, to tell them in the name of Christ to tamely submit, to be content with their lot and with such things as the 'Christian men to whom God has entrusted the property interests of the country' see fit to let them have, and to be thankful for 'prosperity' and soaring prices.'

And the preachers, for the most part, have been doing their best to follow this advice. To disregard it would be to lose their "jobs" and to destroy what little opportunity is left them to do good. The pulpit has been devoting attention to "religious" discussion while leaving out the very heart of religion. The churches have been substituting the most miserable subterfuge of "services" and "charity" for the divine requirement of justice and righteousness until the climax of capitalism seems to have been reached, and is well expressed in the words of scripture: "A wonderful and horrible thing is come to pass in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?"

We would not, however, deal unfairly with either pulpit or pew. We believe that a great number of Christian ministers and people are in full sympathy with the struggle of the masses for social betterment. Many of the capitalists are likewise convinced of the justice of the demand of the toilers. We believe there are thousands of people in the churches who are at heart Socialists of the most class-conscious type. But they are slaves of the present system and are unwilling to make the sacrifice which an avowal of faith at the present time would involve. We do not excuse their weakness and cowardice. But we hope for a great revival of the spirit of Christian Heroism, and we are glad to put it down to the credit of the churches that the number of ministers who are speaking out plainly in behalf of human rights is increasing from week to week. The preachers are finding their voices, the churches are standing by them, and the light of a New Day breaks on the horizon.

"Aid the dawning, tongue and pen; aid it hopes of honest men; Aid it paper, aid it type; aid it for the hour is ripe."

IN BRIEF

Time to think.

He is a brave man who thinks new thoughts aloud.

Dare to be true to yourself and you cannot then be false to God.

Give your soul a chance; give it air; give it freedom; give it life.

To live is to grow. To live is to learn. To live is to love and share. Shame on prejudice! Shame on narrowness! Shame on fear! Shame

It is in the closed mind, the diseased conscience, the cold heart that people become low and vulgar.

It is by means of the vision, "the divinity within," the soul's graces that people become truly educated and refined.

The people who live selfishly are the only "lower class." Only those who serve and give belong to the "best society."

Read up on Socialism if you do not want to be left behind. The whole world is studying it as never before. What have you read on the subject that treats it in a scientific manner?

Will you not send us one new subscriber this month? For four new names we will give a copy of the picture, "Our Presidents," advertised on last cover page or if you prefer it a copy of Dr. Pitzer's book, "Suggestion."

"Let what every man thinks of the republic be written on his brow," was the motto of ancient Rome. It would be a good one for modern Amerca. There is too much thinking one thing in private and saying another in public. We meet men almost every day who tell us in confidence they are Socialists but they have not yet the courage to openly declare themselves. Time to speak out, Brethren!

How refreshing that utterance of John Bascom concerning the Rockefeller University bequests! But why should it cause a stir for a Christian educator to protest against gifts obtained by deliberate fraud and hailing the donor as a philanthropist? Nothing could more fully exhibit the demoralizing influence of such gifts than the unseemly haste with which the "beneficiaries" have come to the defense of the dishonest methods of the Standard oil magnate. But not all have bowed the knee to Baal. Dr. Parkhurst of New York declares Rockefeller's record to be one of "villainy." And who can question it after reading the story now running in McClure's Magazine?

"Tramp! Tramp!" The dailies are falling into line. The Boston Traveler is the latest to take up the demand of the age. Here is what it says: "Socialism is an entity today. It is marching on with resistlesss force. It is swallowing railroads and factories. It is absorbing every department of human industry and welding them all in one vast "community of ownership." At present Rockefeller, Morgan, and the rest are the instruments of this, forced on by self-interest. But they are building a car of Juggernaut which will finally trample over them. All public utilities will finally belong to the people. The title will rest with them. This is the hope and promise of the century. It will be all the easier for the government to take these great properties in the name of the people when the time is ripe."

PROPHETS

By ERNEST H. CROSBY

T.

Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!
Happy the land that doth not revile and persecute them during their lives
Was there ever such a land?
We are still engaged in the ancient pastime,
Building the monuments of the prophets of old
And casting stones at the seers whom we meet in the streets.
In the world's market one dead prophet is worth a dozen of the living.

Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!

TT

We, Pharisees of the Jerusalem of Herod,
We do reverence indeed to the words of Isaiah and Amos.
Did they pitch into rulers and landlords rather roughly?
Why, in those distant times landlords and rulers richly deserved it.
If we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.
But what shall we do with this man. Jesus who talks in much the same

But what shall we do with this man, Jesus, who talks in much the same strain?

Oh, away with Him, crucify Him; crucify Him! Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before the die!

TTT

And still we rehearse the same dismal comedy, even in $\,$ America and in this twentieth century.

How did we hail John Brown, and Thoreau and Whitman?

Behold Garrison. The astounding, intrepid youth advances single-handed, with his sling against the ogre of slavery;

One day he is mobbed and almost massacred on the streets of Boston under the statues of Franklin and Washington because he preaches freedom.

Now at last his monument, too, stands, honored by all, in the heart of the Puritan city.

How fare the living prophets in Boston today?

Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!

IV.

And there are prophets today, though the world passes them by unheeding. Their race is not extinct and will not be until we settle down to death. To them is confided the life of the world;

On the bold, startling lines they lay down, the living structure of the future will grow;

The nerve-like shapes which they trace in the amorphous and distorted mass of society will by and by be centers of visible life and take on flesh and blood.

Believe me, these co-workers in creation live; I have seen them, the apostles of manhood, of justice, of simplicity, of love.

They can afford to wait.

If they received now their deserved acclaim we might well doubt their right to rank with the prophets.

Our children will build the monuments of George and Tolstoi and the rest; But how will they treat their own prophets?

Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!

RHINEBECK, N. Y.

"ON THE LORD'S SIDE"

By FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH



upon Abraham Lincoln OF A MILLION SLAVES. to urge the adoption of a dent, we hope that this

war may at least be conducted so that the Lord may be on our side." Abraham Lincoln replied: "I am not nearly so anxious to have the Lord on our side as I am that we ourselves should be on the Lord's side."

The name of Abraham Lincoln will shine as long as history endures, a beacon light upon the highway toward human liberty, because he did his best a conscious, individual human soul to understand and to do what God required of him.

In that brief, terse, characteristic sentence Abraham Lincoln summed up and expressed the true relation between man and God.

This awkward, angular rail-splitter; this incarration of the common life, was the laughing-stock of the goldlace parasites of England and America. But he did not mind their ridicule enough to allow them to make his canons of right and wrong for him. He was brave enough to walk alone with God and his own soul.

AND GOD TOUCHED HIS ARM; AND CHICAGO, ILL.

DELEGATION once called THE SHACKLES FELL FROM THE LIMBS

Abraham Lincoln knew that the certain theory, and be- abolition of chattel slavery would cause he failed to enter not insure real freedom for a negro. into their plans with as He knew that as long as a few men much zeal as they them- own the material resources upon selves displayed, became which all men depend, emancipation impatient, and said to meant merely the exchange of the him, "Well, Mr. Presi- slave whip for the hunger whip. But he believed that from buying and selling flesh and blood-separating father and mother, mother and child-to a state in which these human relations would not be ruthlessly violated, was at least one step toward freedom. The colored families might have the same privileges possessed by white tamilies. They might at least enjoy the comfort of starving together.

> AND THEN ABRAHAM LINCOLN HOPED THAT WHEN HIS WORK WAS DONE PERHAPS SOME OTHER MAN-EVEN YOU, PERHAPS, OR I PERHAPS-MIGHT HAVE THE COURAGE TO BE UP-ON THE LORD'S SIDE.

> There is never a time in the history of men or nations when the eyes of God are not searching up and down the world for men and women who are so emptied of self that they are fitted to receive the message of the Father. as Abraham Lincoln received it, and to comprehend what it means to be upon the Lord's side.

> To be upon the Lord's side is to labor and to sacrifice for Humanity.

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THE SUPREME THOUGHT IN RELIGION

By Rev. WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN



to act together.

dise a hell.

It is inevitable that what seems in-

HE "Kingdom of Heaven," sometime seem intolerable in the life we are told, "is like un- that is. If the idea of separation to leaven, which a wom- and alienation in that future world is took and hid in three losing its hold on human thought and measures of meal, till it affection, is it not likely that the idea was all leavened." It is of separation and alienation among the ideal of permeation. men in this world will become obso-The office of leaven or lete? If we cannot think of any yeast is to permeate the good thing in the life to come under the monopoly of one man or one group The supreme thought of men, must not the same feeling of religion to-day is becoming the prevail as to the possession and enthought of permeation. We are not joyment of good things here on the thinking so much now of getting safe- earth? I cannot look with unconcern ly out of the world as we are of living a upon the tendency which prevails totrue and happy life in the world. We day to put before our young men and are not seeking so much to induce women the ambition to rise in the men and women to accept a sound re- world at the expense of their fellows. ligious philosophy, as we are to put I cannot think that it is the best into concrete form right here on this thing we can do for the real life of earth those ideals which we have in- our sons and daughters to center herited as the richest bequest of the their whole thought and efforts upon ages. We are finding it all the while the idea of "getting ahead." I dare more difficult to accomplish any great to say that it is a crime against the purpose by acting alone. We have human soul blacker and more terrible than any for which death is made the The man to-day who would be will- penalty by common law to create in ing to enter a future heaven from the minds of human beings on the whose gates one solitary soul was very threshold of their years the imforever barred, who would consent to pression that it is a wise or a good join the procession of the saved and thing to gain and hold opportunities turn his back upon any form of hu- or privileges in this world to which man misery, who would have anything thousands and millions of their felto do with a God who would make lows can never hope to aspire. To be such an arrangement as that, who willing to rise while others are sinkwould be a party to any such system ing in the mire, to be willing to have of things in the world to come is a an eminence which is attained by man who has lost the respect of all standing upon a pyramid of struggood men, has violated all that is gling human bodies, to be contented to finest in his own nature, and takes have and enjoy while others starve, his place below the pagan and the to be satisfied to prosper while any, savage. Any such being as that earnest, honest toiler plods on toward would cease to be human. A collec- the goal of despair and death, betrays tion of such beings would make para- a moral sense which the beasts of the field put to shame.

We coming in sight of a are tolerable in the life to come will thought of religion and of an actual

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earthly possibility which is inspiring violating all that is human or true or hope. The soul of humanity is awak- extrication. Extrication is death. ing. The consciousness grows that Permeation is the condition of life. the world is one. You cannot have The measure of our life is the measly draw us asunder. Our hopes are Morris: "Forsooth, brothers, fellowis one. We are brothers. We can- do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's not disown that relationship without sake that ye do them."

and uplifting and glorious beyond all good in us. Our happiness, nay, our words. The world is radiant with very life, lies not in the direction of a permanent alienation. We belong ure of the life of our brothers and together and nothing can permanent- sisters. In the words of William one. Our destiny is one. Our sorrow ship is heaven, and lack of fellowis one. Our despair is one. Our joy ship is hell; and the deeds that ye

CREEDS AND THEIR IMPORT

By RALPH WALDO TRINE



among us attribute things to God that for all time. no respectable men or women would them to God.

HE view of God, that He himself to be bound by no established is the Infinite Spirit of or orthodox teachings or beliefs. Life and Power that is Christ is pre-eminently a type of the back of all, that is work- universal. John the Baptist is a type ing in and through all, of the personal. John dressed in a that is the life of all, is a particular way, ate a particular kind matter in regard to which of food, belonged to a particular order, all men, all religions can lived and taught in a particular localagree. With this view ity, and he himself recognized the there can be no infidels fact that he must decrease while or atheists. There are Christ must increase. Christ, on the atheists and infidels in connection other hand, gave himself to be bound with many views that are held con- by nothing. He was absolutely unicerning God-and thank God there versal, and as a consequence taught, are! Even devout and earnest people not for his own particular day, but

This mighty truth, which is the permit to be attributed to themselves. great central fact of human life, is Others cannot see how God can be the golden thread that runs through angry with his children, jealous, vin- all religions. When we make it the dictive. A display of these qualities paramount fact in our lives we will always lessons our respect for men find that minor differences, narrow and women, and still we attribute prejudices, and all these laughable absurdities will so fall away by virtue The earnest, sincere heretic is one of their insignificance that a Jew can of the greatest friends true religion worship equally as well in a Catholic can have. Heretics are among God's cathedral, a Catholic in a Jewish syngreatest servants. They are among agogue, a Buddhist in a Christian the true servants of mankind. Christ church, a Christian in a Buddhist was one of the greatest heretics the temple. Or all can worship equally world has ever known. He allowed well about their own hearth-stones, or

out on the hill side, or while pursuing spired?" Yes, but he was not the onthe avocation of everyday life. For ly one inspired. God and man in the bush may meet.

all cannot agree. ly one inspired. Another who is a lar period of time. Buddhist asks, "Was not Buddha in- BOSTON, MASS.

A Christian asks. true worship, only God and the hu- "But is not our Christian Bible inman soul are necessary. It does not spired?" Yes, but there are other depend upon times, or seasons, or oc-inspired scriptures. A Brahmin or a easions. Anywhere and at any time Buddhist asks, "Are not the Vedas inspired?" Yes, but there are other This is the great fundamental prin- inspired sacred books. Your error is ciple of the universal religion; upon not in believing that your particular which all can agree. This is the scriptures are inspired, but your abgreat fact that is permanent. There surdly laughable limitations by itare many things in regard to which your inability to see that other scrip-These are the tures are also inspired.

things that are personal, non-essenti- Let us not be among the number al, and so as time passes they gradual- so dwarfed, so limited, so bigoted, as ly fall away. One who doesn't grasp to think that the Infinite God has rethis great truth-a Christian for ex- vealed Himself to but one little handample-asks, "But was not Christ in- ful of His children, in one little quarspired?" Yes, but he was not the on- ter of the globe, and at one particu-

LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

HOW AMERICAN SOCIALISM CAME TO BE 781 . ISC



fact it

of the individual?

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY FIRST

MERICAN Socialism is political world, it resulted in kings but the natural growth and monarchies, first feudal and then of American democracy. absolute. When each man was left This is an unusual state- to do as he pleased, the strongest ment, but I think I can soon gained control, and the weaker show it to be a true one. had to obey him. But the weaker American democracy members of society gradually learned has generally been sup- two things: first, that such rulers posed to mean extreme would abuse their strength, making individualism, while in use of it to render the weaker memhas always bers still less strong; second, that by meant just the contrary. Political the union of their lesser strengths democracy means simply that the they could control these stronger power of the whole people is used to menbers of society. The first result make each citizen secure in his politi- of these new discoveries was constical rights. What does industrial tutional monarchy, attained through democracy, or Socialism, mean, but revolution and the forcing of the the use of the power of the whole peo- king's acknowledgment of popular ple to make secure the iudustrial rights rights. The next step was constitutional democracy, wherein the people merged all their lesser strengths in-When individualism existed in the to a greater one, and called it a concratic state, through the five stages of individualism, feudalism, absolute monarchy, and democracy.

HOW INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY FOLLOWED IT

We of America have been doing little, this past hundred years, except learning over again, in the industrial world, this lesson of democratic progress. We started in with a large, unsettled, and fertile country. early settlers located in remote places, and passed thus through the first stage of industrial development, each family more or less sufficient unto itself. But in a little while the country became more thickly populated, and the scattered groups found themselves unable to longer live independently of each other. Capital was called to their assistance, and because they gained by its profit, and saw no resulting evils, they had no fear of monopolies, and made no particular attempt to control the operations of capital. They looked upon it as a valuable but harmless ally.

The second step in the progress of was likewise apparently without danger. Capital spread over the continent, and its different parts came into closer competition. The result was a distinct gain to the people. There was nothing yet apparent to arouse any fear for the future.

THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL MONARCHY

But the third stage of capitalistic progress was different. Capital found its interests more rapidly advanced by co-operation, than by competition, and was quick to take advantage of this new knowledge. The result was the gradual appearance of the monopoly and the "trust." Then began in earnest the task of restraining and crushing out competition. First, the smaller capitalist disappeared. The smaller dealer fol-

stitution. And thus arose the demo- "lords" of the smaller trusts gave way before the "absolute" industrial "king" of the all-American monopoly. So, almost before the people realized there was any danger, they found themselves absolutely under the dominion of the trusts.

> All this was perfectly natural. Industrial individualism had produced industrial monarchy, The industrial world had found its kings.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND CON-STITUTIONAL MONARCHY

But just as monarchs of old had misused their power, and thus produced political revolutions, so now did these industrial kings trample under foot the liberties of the people until the people arose in rebellion. This new popular revolt expressed itself in three ways. It first attempted anti-monopolistic legislation. these industrial monarchs, like the kings of old, were very strong and very skilful, and the people found the new laws of little service. Then they tried strikes and riots. This method was a little successful at first, in spite of the fact that the laws were found to protect the privileges of capital rather than the rights of the people, and that the strength of the government was used to suppress the strike. But the monopolies soon discovered a very sufficient They invented the "blacklist" system and made the rebel against these new kings an industrial outcast.

In the meantime, one portion of the people had been gradually learning its lesson. It now began to organize labor unions, and used these strengthen the earlier means of resistance. And as they increased in numbers and strength, better laws began to be enacted, and were treated with some slight measure of respect, while strikes became a more powerful weapon than before. The lowed. Then the "feudal" industrial monopolies were gradually forced to

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acknowledge some of the industrial cies? But our fight is not yet finished. had produced popular revolution, and revolution had forced the acknowledgment of popular rights. The stage few "bills of rights." We are still in the industrial world.

AND THEN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

This is, in brief, the history of American Socialism:-first, industrial individualism, or unrestrained competition, producing its natural result, industrial king,-"monopoly"; then the long, bitter, and often discouraging struggle of the people for the overthrow of this monarchy they had helped to build up; and, finally, the acknowledgment by these industrial kings of the industrial rights of the people; this last stage being the "constitutional monarchy" of industrial life, which shall in due time give way to actual industrial democracy.

IDENTICALLY THE SAME STRUGGLE

Is there any difference, then, between the struggle of our forefathers for political democracy, and our own struggle for industrial democracy? Have not each of us had to fight against our kings, and overturn our monarchies, before we obtained our liberties and established our democra-

rights of the people. Kingly excess So far we have little more than compelled our "kings" to grant us our "Magna Charta," and proclaimed a of constitutional monarchy was reached in the stage of industrial "constitutional monarchy." Some are content to remain there, but the Socialist wishes to push forward until complete democracy is realized. We have yet to make our final declaration of industrial independence, and to establish our newer and greater constitution, based upon the industrial equality and rights of man.

> That is why I say, as I did in the beginning, that American Socialism is the natural outgrowth, and not contradiction, of American democracy. Democracy has outlived its evil prophets. It has not been perfect, but it has made fewer mistakes, and committed fewer crimes than any monarchy of equal length of life. And in the same way Socialism, the legitimate heir of democracy, will prove false those evil prophecies with which unbelievers now seek to retard its progress. And this evolution of industrial America. with its impending triumph of democracy, is the true history of American Socialism.

LINCOLN, NEB.

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM "SOCIALISM WILL BREAK UP THE HOME"

This charge has been repeated over your home, providing you have a and over again by the opponents of home, which all should have, but Socialism, but, like all others of the which many have not. They know, same nature, has absolutely no reason as we know, that there is nothing for existence—except as a bugaboo by more sacred to the average man than which those who do not fully under- his home, no matter how poor or humstand what Socialism means can be ble that home may be, and when they frightened into voting against it. charge the Socialists with attempt-Those who make this charge have ing to inaugurate a state of society made no attempt to show in what wherein the homes of the people manner Socialism would break up would be destroyed, they know they

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are at once arousing a prejudice that ine, that binds society together and will prevent them from listening log- makes happiness, peace and contentically to the arguments presented in ment for the race possible of attainfavor of Socialism.

But this charge against Socialism not only that, but Socialism is advo- under Socialiam. cated among the most brilliant literary, scientific and artistic people of know them to be insecure and unstathe world. You have heard of Fran- ble; you know you may lose your job ces Willard, for instance. Do you be- at any minute and be forced out into lieve she was ignorant and degraded the street. Socialists hurl back the when she declared only a few months charge of wishing to break up the before her death that had she her life home into the teeth of those who are to begin over again she would spend trying to perpetuate a system which it in the cause of Socialism? Do you is breaking up the homes of the peobelieve she would have said this if ple every hour of the day and every she had not investigated Socialism day in a week, which is making the fully and believed it to be in accord with her character as a woman and ination before high heaven, and which her duty as a Christian? Do you is destroying manhood and corrupting think she would be in favor of break- womanhood. ing up the home?

ism, the present system of society, is already breaking up the home and destroying every tie, human and div-

ment.

Socialism, the future system of sois not only an empty one, but a false ciety, will insure everyone who conand malicious one. The hardest tributes, mentally or manually, by workers in the Socialist movement of their labor, to the wealth of society, the world are the most intelligent, a home with perfect security and the cream, of the working class, and peace. And this we can have only

> Those of you who have homes today divorce courts of the land an abom-

Socialism will mean happy homes, But, as a matter of fact, capital- security of employment, happiness and peace, better men and better women, happier children and a grander world! MARGARET HAILE.

TORONTO, ONT.

THE "DEAD LEVEL"

By J. E. HARRIS



many who oppose Social- ment. ism use that "dead level" kept down and all men be ernment. "reduced to the same

TRANGE, isn't it, that so its acceptance as a conlusive argu-

Unfortunately for the cause which assertion without realiz- this "dead level" scare-crow is ining its absurdity? The tended to support, a number of inmere statement that un- stances exist in which the Socialisder Socialism the "man tic idea has been successfully introwith brains" would be duced in our present scheme of gov-

Have those who use this so-called level" is advanced with argument ever noticed that the puban assurance that quite often causes lic school teachers best fitted for

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training the future rulers of this re- of the kind has resuited. plan.

ning railroads, digging coal or mak- ing less capability for leadership. ing clothes are so important that the turned over to a corporation?

because the efficiency of the public by the government. schools of the United States is too cialism has not been a failure here.

under government control. Nothing work." of a "dead level" exists among the line.

tory of the army and navy of the main.

their duties in some way get to the United States. If the objection retop just as frequently as would be the ferred to is based upon fact, the men case if they were working for a cor- composing the United States navy poration instead of for the whole are all upon a "dead level," and those people. There doesn't seem to be of unusual ability are unable to adanything of a "dead level" among vance beyond their less able comrades. the bright men and women who are History shows, however, that nothing Yet public school teachers ment or public control of the navy are all working under the Socialistic has not prevented brains from getting to the front any more than similar No more important task is being control of railroads would prevent performed today than the training of ability from getting to the front in those who in a few years are to take that industry. The Farraguts and their places as the rulers of this land. Deweys of the navy have not been If Socialism is such a failure, if run- kept down to the level of those hav-

Why would government control of government cannot manage them, railroads keep ability or brains from why do not the opponents of Social- working their way to the top? It ism demand that the much more im- does not do so in the public schools, portant task of training the young be the postal service, the life saving service, the army, the navy, or in any Nothing of the kind is suggested of the lines of occupation managed

This idea that men to do their best well established to be attacked. So- work must be spurred on through fear of failure is a theory that belongs to Look at the United States postal the dark ages. The fact is that the service, the life saving service, very best work in every line is done the mints, the government printing through love of the work itself. The office, every branch of industry which man who works because he must does is at present managed by the people not compare in accomplishment with of the country-for the people are in the man who works because he enreality the managers of whatever is joys doing so, because "heart is in his

Socialism would merely remove that employees of the government in any competition which is a struggle for existence much similar to that ot Another still more convincing proof lower animals. The wholesome comof the absurdity of the "dead level" petition which arises from pride in theory is found by studying the his- one's work, from love of it; would re-

GREEN BAY, WIS.

When the workingmen are paid in return for their labor only as much money as will buy them the necessities of life, their condition is identical with that of the slave who receives those necessities at first hand. The former we call "free men" and the latter "slaves," but the difference is imaginary only.-John Adams. Digitized by Google

VALUE OF MENTAL SCIENCE

By HORATIO W. DRESSER



not deny the existence jured the health.

Its first step is to distinguish between were almost miraculous. the one that is composed of changing cure in every case which one may wins the attention or becomes all-ab- and power. sorbing therefore plays its part in health and disease.

HE more practical phase sists largely of audible explanations, of Mental Science is posi- showing how all these subtle mental tive in its teaching rath- influences, inherited beliefs, fears, er than negative. It does and temperamental effects have in-Such treatment of matter, of the body, strikes directly at the root of the difnor of certain conditions ficulty, and may of course be adapted which in ill-health seem to the particular case. It has been as real as life itself. It the means of transforming a vast frankly admits all that number of lives, on reaching cases really exists; but having where all other methods have failed? made this admission, it reserves the and of performing cures both of right to explain the nature of reality. chronic and of organic diseases which the two natures or selves of man, the people think and investigate who one that is truly spiritual and par- never thought seriously before. It takes of the great Unchangeable and shows that there is a natural law of opinions and beliefs. The latter self take advantage of by maintaining a includes the unconscious or sub-con- firm, hopeful, happy attitude of mind scious mind, and is described as a sen- in the right direction, away from sitive impression plate or as a sort of physical sensation, belief in disease spiritual matter readily moulded by as an entity, fears, doubts, and all fears, beliefs, and all that constitutes that tends to keep one in ill-health. the passing consciousness of man, in It teaches one to open out, to aspire, which ideas are sown like seed in the toturn away from all that is tranground where they germinate, come siently belittling and painful to that forth, and find expression in the body. higher Self whose abode is eternity, Any belief or state of feeling which from whence one may draw new life

For, deeper than the mere passing beliefs or states of thought, which Disease is not a mere belief, nor is bring happiness or misery according it a purely physical condition any to their nature, is the real man or more than the facts of every day ex- the spiritual senses which, in reality perience. It is very often a state of independent of matter and a part of the entire individual, and in order to that great Spirit to which all men effect its permanent cure the entire belong, are capable of overcoming mental attitude must be changed so such states of mind with their physithat every obstacle to nature's re- cal effects as may prove harmful, and storative power shall be removed, of giving wiser direction to the natur-Something must touch the soul, ex- al activities. It is therefore of the plain the effect upon it of narrowing greatest importance that individual beliefs and fears, and aid it to come man should understand himself, not into a freer and healthier atmosphere. only in his relations to society and in This the mental practitioner can do, the light of the subtle mental influand oftentimes the treatment con- ences by which every one is surround-

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ed, but in the light of his profoundest The practice of hypnotism has alrelations to the source of all goodness, ready demonstrated that the human wisdom, and love.

ioins hands with all that is most en- method of cure we may practitioners of all schools it is sure to-day. to meet a crying need among the sick and suffering.

nomena of mental healing. The reg- identity independent than a physical diagnosis of disease, as a living soul. has already disproved many of the

mind is wonderfully susceptible to As thus understood the mental cure suggestion, and if the direction of in its fullest sense and at its best be- mind, permanent or transient, is comes a life, a religion, an education really fundamental, if the effect proof the whole individual, and it thus duced on us by medicine, by any obling and progressive in human largely depends on the opinion we thought. It strikes deeper into the put into it, then medical science very heart of things than former the- must strike at the root of the matter, ories, and brings to light not only the it must deal more directly with the hidden effects of mind on mind, but mind instead of giving remedies and unsuspected applications of truths performing operations in order to rewhich have long been cherished but move physical effects. When doctors never realized in actual life. It is shall display genuine understanding not simply a method of cure alone, of the human mind in its relation to nor does it claim, as a method of cure health and disease, instead of giving to reach ail cases at once and do one opinion one day and another the away with the really intelligent doc- next, based on a physical diagnosis, tor and the skilful surgeon. But it then the more intelligent portion of does claim to modify all cases, even the community will have far more the most severe, and in the hands of confidence in them than they display

As an aid to psychology and to psychic science the new movement As an aid to modern medical science, could also be of great service, for it then, the mental cure may be of in- throws much light on the nature of estimable service, and no line of in-mind in its relation to the body. Most vestigation would better repay the practitioners of the new method have progressive doctor to-day than a sci- had a long scries of experiences pointentific inquiry into the facts and phe-ing to the belief that man has an of matter ular physician would not only learn through which he can communicate much about the real nature of dismentally, perceive objects at a disease, but would get new light in re- tance, take the feelings and thoughts gard to its cure; for the new move- of others, and give shape to his phyment, proceeding on a different basis sical life,—an identity which fits him and relying on an intuitive rather to continue his existence after death

Educationally, the new thought prevailing theories of disease and might be of invaluable service; and shown that there is a power which is when children are taught this healthcapable of assisting nature in a far ier theory of disease there will surely more direct way than by the use of be much less sickness in the world. medicine. It is a suggestive fact al- It is a philosophy of encouragement, so that a large proportion of the and urges the young to develop the cases which come under the care of best that is in them, and to find rethe mental practitioner are those pose through wise self-development, which have been given up by the best since every suppressed ambition, physicians of the regular school, every element of one's nature that is not understood, creates friction and trine is seen at its best. In this has its ultimate effect on the health, sense it is a preventive rather than a while true education is always health- cure of disease. It turns the thought giving.

pleasure, society,—that the new doc- ter man of the twentieth century.

habitually into wiser and happier Philosophically, the new thought channels, away from the absurd nolends its support to an idealistic or tion that every one must have cerspiritual as opposed to a material tain diseases, and shows one how to view of the universe; it emphasizes become poised, well adjusted to life, the conscious aspect of life as the and how to take life easier and at its most real and powerful, and furnishes best It is philosophy and religion a strong argument in favor of the in- made one with daily life, and as such timate and universal presence of an it is a decided advance over all preinfinite Spirit, to the nearness of vious theories which tend to separate which the advocates of this new theory and practice. It is throughmethod attribute the healing power out a positive, hopeful, stimulating which they know to be something su-doctrine, sympathetic rather than experior to their purely personal selves. clusive and critical, never directly But it is as a life, a practical opposing the doctrines which it superhealth-giving mode of conduct which sedes, yet quietly playing its part in one may carry into every detail of the evolution of the race and preparexperience,-into business, ing the way for the grander and bet-

Nature is your friend. Health is as contagious as disease. Obey the law of health and each fibre, cell and organ will live and increase in life. Sickness comes only when Nature's laws are broken, and frequently only then after years of continued and persistent violation of these laws. Ask any honest physician and he will tell you that 90 per cent. of all his calls are made on cases where illness might have been prevented. Health is natural, disease is unatural. Health is growth, disease shrinkage. Health is right, truth and obedience, while disease is wrong, the result of imperfect living and as unnecessary as theft, arson or murder. Get well and keep well.

-E. Elmer Keeler, M. D., Editor of Good Health Clinic.

Tell us not of banks and tariffs—cease your paltry pedler cries,— Shall the good State sink her honor that your gambling stock may rise? Would ye barter man for cotton?-That your gains may sum up higher, Must we kiss the feet of Moloch, pass our children through the fire? Is the dollar only real?—God and truth and right a dream? Weighed against your lying ledgers must our manhood kick the beam?

-John G. Whittier.

We do a great injustice to Iscariot in thinking him wicked above all common wickedness. He was only a common money lover, and like all money lovers didn't understand Christ-couldn't make out the worth of him or the meaning of Him. He didn't want him to be killed. He was horror-struck when he found that Christ would be killed; threw his money away instantly and hanged himself. How many of our present money seekers, think vouwould have the grace to hang themselves, whoever was killed?-John Ruskin.

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BOOKS WORTH READING

(All publications mentioned in this department may)

Press.



ful volume, which we heartily commend to our readers, may be summarized as follows: Man's kinship with God is made plain by Jesus who shows as he can be in nothing else. Man can read God's

answers to the depths of God.

the inspiration of love. The trans- The

THE NATURALNESS OF CHRISTIAN LIFE. plishments of tasks well nigh impossi-By EDWARD EVERETT KEEDY. New ble, the saving of souls well nigh ahan-York: G. P. Putman's Sons. Price doned have been brought about not \$1.25. For sale by The Vanguard by the law as by Moses, not by intellectual knowledge as by Plato, but by HE contents of this help- the power of love as by Jesus Christ. Manhood is an achievement of tomorrow. Time as a factor in this achievement is too often ignored. God is a God of patience and judges by the purpose and direction of the life.

Heaven and hell are present experthat God is in humanity iences, not future abodes. They are conditions, not localities. The glory, the peace, the greatness, the joy of thoughts after Him in this world's is the heaven of love. The nature and in science and this ability dwarfing of self, the emptiness, the proves a likeness of the divine mind discord and sorrow of the world is the to the human mind. Man's recogni- hell of sin. God's purpose is that men tion of God's law as the law of his shall attain "unto the measure of the own being and his sense of sin and stature of the fulness of Christ." guilt at its transgression prove his The gospel is the good news of the capacity to live in harmony with God's helofulness of God unto this attaining. purposes else has God required an im- Jesus accepted the fact that right possibility. The yearning of man's soul character is salvation. He denied for God is the struggle of the divinity that it can be obtained by gift or imwithin him. The human heart has an putation. It is an achievement of ache Godward. From Marcus Aurel- man under the inspiration of God. ius down to Fairbairn the saintly have Turning to this in love, man begins recognized that the deepest in man his own salvation by growing into . God's likeness. God's supreme pur-To live the Christian life is to de- pose is to save men from sin, not from velop the divine within the human. It punishment of sin. Sin punishes by consists not in obedience to some law what it is and does. Remission and or mandate from without but in forgiveness are of sins not of penalheeding the aspiration after God ties. Religion is a reality not to be which is implanted as a law of growth theorized about but to be experienced. within. Christian manhood is not an Truth lived. satisfies. Truth argued unnatural state, it is an unhindered about may be confusing. Man's naprogress toward the most complete ture answers to the fact when he is The religions of the in tune with the infinite. "We know world have put before men three mo- that we have passed from death unto tives to salvation, the power of the life because we love the brethren." law, the knowledge of the truth and Love is the fulfilling of every law. power of the church formations of character, the accom- in the brotherhood of love. It should

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not be narowed to the function of public worship but should prove its right to exist in the efforts of active personal love and helpfulness. H. S. H.

PRACTICAL CHARACTER READER. By L. A. VAUGHT. Chicago. Price \$1.00.

For sale by the Vanguard Press. Everyone who is fond of studying character will be interested in this book. In the introduction the author says, "Human character is the same as human nature in its last analysis. Human nature is composed of elements that are unchangeable in their nature and the same the world over. At least forty-two of these elements are now known. Individual character is a particular combination of these elements in which some lead or predominate." Prof. Vaught's arrangement of their various combinations is forceful and easily understood.

In the order of faculties conscientiousness comes first as the only one that gives reliability of character. The honest man is depicted by various illustrations of face, head, eyes, nose, mouth, chin and ears, which all speak in known language to the initiated. "The two primary causes of nervousness are cautiousness and approbativeness." "Caste comes from two elements of human nature, approbative-ness and self esteem It is a mixture of vanity and self-importance and wholly without merit.

The chief uses of knowledge of character, Prof. Vaught says, are: To control and form your own character; to understand children and how to train them; in business life to read the people with whom you are dealing; how to select a husband or wife with certainty of success. He would make the basis of our actions scientific instead of commercial or sentimental. as-at present.

There are a good many revolting pictures in the book of people to avoid. What is to be done with these degenerates but make them social outcasts he does not say. Prof. Vaught has made character reading a life study and his statements are worthy of consideration. S. A. N.

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JOHN RUSKIN, SOCIAL REFORMER. By J. A. Hobson, Boston: Dana, Estes & Co. Price \$1.50. For sale by The Vanguard Press.

The brilliant sayings of Mr. Ruskin on the social problem are familiar to us all. Mr. Hobson undertakes in this volume to collocate the many and varied sayings and teachings of this kind scattered throughout John Ruskin's writings, and from these to give a systematic presentation of Ruskin's social ideas. In this work he is surprisingly successful. He spends no time in praising the pith and force of Ruskin's writings on social topics; no one will dispute that. But he does spend time and successfully in refuting those who have contended that Mr. Ruskin was a mere iconclast, or a wild dreamer of impossible results from fantastic endeavors.

Mr. Hobson finds that both in his incisive criticism of the orthodox political economy of his day, and in his constructive endeavors after a more moral and brotherly theory of social science, Mr. Ruskin proved to be a prophet of the very lines of thought which leading sociological thinkers are now taking. Every set of Ruskin's works should have this concise comment upon his social teachings alongside of it.

SUGGESTION; IN THE CURE OF DISEASE AND THE CORRECTION OF VICES. By GEO. C. PITZER, M. D. St. Louis, Mo. Price \$1.00. For sale by The Vanguard Press.

Here is another admirable treatise on the new Art of Healing. Dr. Pitzer sets forth in an attractive and convincing manner the efficiency of psychic treatment as a remedial agency. It would seem that such testimony ought to remove all doubts as to the genuineness and beneficial effects of the Mental cure. But prejudices die hard even among people who lay claim to intelligence and culture. The following letter from Thomson Jay Hudson, L. L. D., Washington,

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D. C., author of "The Law of Psychic Phenomena," to Dr. Pitzer speaks volumes for the value of this work which is now in its sixth edition:

"I have now finished the second careful reading of your book (Suggestion), and I do not intend to flatter you when I say that I am delighted with it. Everything is so clear and concise that anybody can understand it. Of course, I am more than gratified to see that you strictly adhere to the fundamentals. As long as one does that he cannot possibly go wrong. What you have said about absent treatment is eminently right and practical. I am glad to be able to send you patients once in a while, and I shall take great pleasure in referring my applicants for absent treatment to you; and I assure you that I would not do so did I not repose perfect confidence in your ability and integrity. I congratulate you on your success, and I do so all the more heartily since I know it is deserved."

LITERARY NOTES

Among the brightest and most helpful of the health magazines is THE GOOD HEALTH CLINIC of Syracuse, N. Y., edited by Elmer Keeler, M. D. Every number is full of thought provoking articles. It's common sense advice along the lines of physical culture is worth many times the subscription price of 50 cents a year.

"Trying to Cheat God" is the striking title of a collection of twelve essays written by Marcus W. Robbins, Grants Pass, Oregon, price 15 cents postpaid. Mr. Robbins is a clear thinker and a forceful writer. He deals some vigorous blows at the capitalist exploitation of today and punctures the popular fallacies regarding Socialism in a most interesting fashion. The book is well adapted to propaganda purposes and will undoubtedly do excellent service in the campaign of education on which we are entering.

HUMAN CULTURE, 130 Dearborn St., Chicago, (formerly Human Faculty) under the new name is handsomer and better in quality than ever. Prof. Vaught, the editor, has long been known as a practical and entertaining writer along phrenological lines. He now broadens the scope of his journal and devotes attention to "all sides of human nature."

A dainty little journal is THE RE-PUBLIC OF LOVE, published by The Caxton Press, 121 Fifth St., Milwaukee, Wis. Its brief articles, original and selected, are of the very highest order and breathe a beautiful spirit. We wish it a large circulation, for humanity's sake.



COMMON SENSE

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SHOTS IN PASSING

By "SKIRMISHER"

people who are fortunate enough to get a part of the limited supply. Another example of the awful effect of Socialism. Think what would become of the country if this should be made a general and permanent thing.

Chicago is wrestling with the traction problem and the Record-Herald, one of the leading Republican newspapers of the country, publishes its platform on the subject in which it advocates the referendum, municipal ownership and operation, compensation from owners for operation under franchise, disregard of overcapitalization in taking over the railways, and other advanced ideas, which indicate that the cry of "Socialistic" has no terrors for the Record-Herald.

New York's special franchise tax law has been declared unconstituthe law authorizing the state tax it. commissioners to make the assessment instead of the local assessors, killed the law. This was Governor Roosevelt's pet measure. As first passed it was a simple law but the capital and labor reaches the point corporations of the state insisted that that one or the other must rule, it certain changes must be made in it will not be labor that wins. to insure its success. Governor the legislature and these changes cialism proposes industrial peace, were made. Then the attorneys who something better than individualism had framed

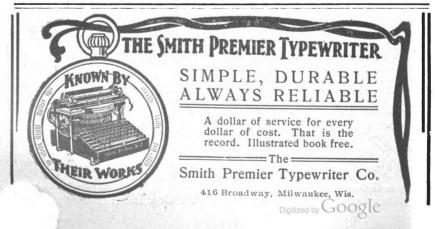
The city of Chicago is selling soft into court and successfully attacked coal in quantities of a ton or less at the constitutionality of their own a saving of aboat \$2 a ton to those law. Is it any wonder that people are becoming Socialists?

> "The progress of the world has been steadily away from Socialism towards liberty," is the recent statement made in an address at Chicago by a follower of Henry George. At the beginning we find the savage living in a cave and absolutely free, while at the end we find modern man living under a complex government. This particular Single Taxer seems to be progressing backwards. Anarchy and Socialism are the two extremes. savage of the stone age knew no law except that of necessity and had no idea of government. Since then the progress of the race has created governments, extended their powers and will ultimately reach Socialism.

Socialism was voted down at the United Mine Workers' convention in tional. The right to tax franchises Indianapolis last month and Presiwas not denied, but the provision of dent Mitchell made a speech against Let the work of combination go on, the labor unions on the one side and the forces of capital on the other. When the decisive battle comes, when the competition between

Labor unions might suffice if indus-Roosevelt called a special session of trial warefare is to be kept up, but So-

the alterations went or trades unionism can offer.



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Mind and Body

Suggestion and Hypnotism Applied in Medicine and Education by A. C. Halphide A. B., M. D., B. D., Etc., President of Chicago Society Professor of Anthropology, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, etc. : : : :

This is an able work on hypnotism and suggestion reviewing the subject from its earliest records, tracing its evolution through the teachings of Mesmer, Braid. Charcot, etc. to the present day. The different schools of the past and present are compared, the relation of hypnotism to therapeutics and education clearly stated, and the relation of hynotism and crime is discussed.

Dr. Halphide advocates the efficacy of suggestion during natural sleep for educational and therapeutic purposes and fairly points out the legitimate uses and the dangers of hypnotism. He is not a faddist in any sense, but a conscientious and progressive physician who makes much use of suggestive hypnotism in his practice and has obtained many

notism in his practice and has obtained many remarkable results through its agency.

The book is well written, lucid, scholarly, instructive and has already met with a flattering reception by the secular and medical press of the country. As stated by the Journal of Suggestive Therapeutics: "It is not too much to say that 'Mind and Body' is the best book dealing with this subject that has been printed for years, because of the author's been printed for years, because of the author's determination to make plain to his readers how they are to proceed to secure their results, and why these results, may be expected to follow."

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THE VANGUARD

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— Markham.

VOL. 1.

GREEN BAY, WIS., MARCH, 1903.

NO. 5

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

READ AND ACT PROMPTLY

Do you want to help Socialism? Of course you do. Then here is your opportunity. The April issue of The Vanguard will be a "Clergy Number" prepared expressly to appeal to the Christian ministers of the country, to awaken their interest and enlist their aid in this cause. Avoiding unwise attack upon the churches, it will present strong arguments showing why all Christian people should identify themselves with this movement which we believe to be the most practical and urgent movement of the age for human betterment.

We want, of course, to place copies in the hands of as many ministers and church members as possible. The capitists sent out to the clergy several thousand copies of the Brooklyn Eagle containing Dr. Hillis' sermon against Socialism. Doubtless it created prejudice in many minds. These men ought to "hear the other side." Let them get it through the April Vanguard. We ought to do as well as the capitalists. We will, if our friends come promptly to the front with their aid. We are prepared to print any quantity and mail them to one or separate addresses at the following rates: 12 copies for 25c; 25 copies for 50c; 50 copies for \$1.00; 100 copies or over at the rate of 2c each. Cash to accompany all orders. This is away below cost.

What better service can you do the cause of humanity than to scatter among the ministers and church members of your acquaintance this special edition? We promise that it will do effective work if you give it a chance. Let us hear from you at once. We must know soon what number will be required. Please act promptly and generously.

POWER

When Wendell Phillips was a young man he heard Lyman Beecher preach on the theme: "You belong to God." After service he went home and throwing himself on the floor of his room, he prayed: "O God, I belong to thee; take what is thine own. I ask this, that whenever a thing is wrong it may have no temptation over me; and that whenever a thing is right it may take no courage to do it." "From that day," he tells us in his own words, "it has been so. Whenever I have known a thing to be wrong, it has held no temptation. Whenever I have know a thing to be right, it has taken no courage to do it."

Such is the power that comes to every man who has put himself wholly on the Lord's side, the man who has consecrated his life to the service of humanity. He cannot be bribed nor intimidated. No selfish consideration influences his action. The opinions and criticisms of society do not signify. With him conscience is supreme. Loyalty to cruth is the ruling passion of his soul. And "his strength is as the strength of ten because his heart is pure."

KEEP SWEET

The spirit of the Socialist platform and press is excellent. and in marked contrast to much that is being said and written on the other side. Socialist speakers and editors are not abusing their opponents. While relentless in their use of logic they are leaving the use of other weapons to those who have run out of arguments. And it would seem that arguments have almost become a thing of the past in defense of the competitive wage and profit system. Indeed, if it be true that "whom the gods destroy they first make mad," the end of capitalism must be in sight. Baer's latest impudent boast that the Supreme Court would protect the coal barons from the people, Parry's vicious attack upon the workingmen and their organizations, and the misleading circulars sent out under auspices of the so-called National Economic League all exhibit the weakness of error and confess a hopeless cause. They are the fulminations of men who are evidently desperate over the rising tide of Socialist sentiment and who fear that the days of their mastership are numbered.

On the other hand, the Socialists, though laboring under severe provocation, through persistent misrepresentation, keep right on with the work of education and every election bears witness to the effectiveness of their propaganda. On the whole they are as cool and clear headed a set of men as ever went out to battle against a maddened foe. Conscious of the righteousness of their cause they are confident of its triumph when once the people understand the issue. They can therefore well afford to keep sweet. Things are coming their way with a certainty and a rapidity that ought to satisfy as well as enthuse the most ardent lover of justice and humanity.

ABOUT ANARCHY

Congress has done well in framing a measure to deal with the problem of anarchy as it presents itself in the form of armed resistance to law and assassination of rulers. archy must be put down, wisely but firmly and effectually. We have no place in this country for violence and bomb throwing, whether by the followers of Emma Goldmann or a mob expressing sympathy with striking workmen. Such procedure is both foolish and criminal. It must ever react to the injury of those who adopt it and the cause it hopes to advance. It will ever receive severe condemnation from the community as a whole, And from no section of the community will the censure be more sincere than from members of labor unions and adherents of the Socialist movement. The truth is we have little to fear from the advocacy of this form of anarchy. We are well able to protect ourselves from all such enemies of our national peace and safety. But "there are others."

Anarchy does not lose its identity be it ever so "high" in society or state. And it is the spirit and method of anarchy—of lawlessness—in high places that is most threatening at the present time. Mrs. Browning once said; "the devil is most devilish when respectable." So we might say that it is "respectable" anarchy that is most devilish and dangerous in the United States today.

"Talk about anarchy!" exclaimed ex-Mayor Swift in an address before the Commercial Club of Chicago, "talk about breeding the spirit of lawlessness! Who does it more than your representative men? Your high-toned business men, your prominent citizens? Who bribes the common council? It is not the men in the common walks of life. It is the men

in your own walks of life, sitting by your firesides at your clubs."

Talk about anarchy! Where, we ask, in this broad earth does it flaunt itself so brazenly as in the lobbies and halls of our legislatures and Congress? Where are there laid plots so deep and diabolical, to subvert justice, to assault the very citadel of government, to strike at the fundamentals of law and order, and to trample the rights and liberties of the people under foot? "I cannot shut my eyes," says Father O'Brien, of Toledo, "to the dangers that threaten our repub-The greatest danger that I see now is the anarchy of wealth." Verily, there is need of an understanding as to who are the real anarchists in this country today. In the light of recent revelations the great corporations and their representatives come nearest to filling the bill. In view of which the action of Congress in framing a stringent law against a little group of avowed and for the most part comparatively harmless anarchists, while overlooking the weightier, craftier, more dangerous anarchists of capitalism, hanging about its own doors, is puerile in the extreme.

CAPITALIST THREATS

If the standard definitions of anarchy are correct, if it consists in "opposition to law and order" and "utter disregard of government" here are two samples of the simon pure article, samples of the "arguments" of the capitalistic press as it views the steady and solid growth of Socialist sentiment. The first is from the Spokane Spokesman-Review, a Republican newspaper:

"Whithout entering into the merits or demerits of a Socialistic regime, suffice it to say it WILL NOT BE TOLERATED BY A MINORITY and that any attempt on the part of a majority to put into practice such doctrines will result in CIVIL WAR."

What is this but a bold, shameful threat of anarchy which deserves a place along side the most violent sentiments of the apostles of lawlessness? If anything savoring of such disloyalty were to appear in a Socialist paper what "holy horror" would be expressed by the pulpit and what a "roast" the So-

cialists would get from the newspapers generally. But Socialists occupy no such treasonable attitude. Their message is one of good-will. Their method is that of education. Their appeal is to reason and justice. The change they desire is to be brought about by the peaceful political action described by Lincoln when he said: "Revolutionize through the ballot box." They feel confident that as soon as the people understand Socialism they will want it. There are no sound arguments to be advanced against it. And when the people want it they will have it, of course. Not so, however, declares the Boston Herald, a Democratic journal, which suggests the following means by which Socialism may be checked and the will of the people thwarted:

"If its baneful manifestations cannot be prevented by existing governmental methods, then, on the ground of self-protection, SUCH CHANGES WILL BE MADE IN OUR SYSTEM OF POLITCAL CONTROL AS WILL GIVE THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT THE AUTHORITY AND POWER NEEDED FOR THE VIGOROUS CHECK OF SOCIALISM. Of course this would mean the end of the republic, as our fathers founded it, but the success of Socialism would be equally destructive of our political institutions. Of the two evils, THOSE WHO WOULD IN THE END SECURE AND HOLD CONTROL WOULD MUCH PREFER A CENTRALIZED AUTOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT than the terrible demoralization and disintegration which would follow an attempt to practically realize the principles of Socialism."

There you have it in plain language—the capitalist program, as prophesied by Lincoln, when he said: "Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit to raise my warning voice against the approach of returning despotism."

We have faith, however, in the triumph of democracy. We believe that though the rich and powerful minority "would much prefer a centralized autocratic form of government," that though they are even now plotting to "secure and hold control," the majority will win out, the republic will live, the Co-operative Commonwealth will be a reality, "the nation, under God, will have a new birth of freedom," and "government of the people, for the people and by the people shall not perish from the earth."

> IN BRIEF >

Time to act.

The great struggle is on.

Educate, agitate, organize.

God helps those that help themselves.

The biggest thing in the world is a right idea.

Wake up the churches. Wake up the preachers. Send them the April Vanguard.

Our fathers abolished the political king. It is up to us to abolish the economic king.

Do the American people know that they are almost in the jaws of a large standing army? What is it for?

Comrade Byers, of Princeton, Minn., leads off this month with a list of 34 new subscribers to The VANGUARD. Though in his 75th year, he is very much alive and a hustler for Socialism. May he live to see the Co-operative Commonwealth ushered in!

In the elections held this month the Socialists have made great gains, showing that the big vote of last fall was not a spasmodic but a substantial expression of sentiment. In New England, Pennsylvania and Texas splendid victories are recorded. In some instances the Socialist ticket won against a fusion of Republicans and Democrats. This is the way things are shaping themselves. Watch for the returns of the April elections.

According to the Boston Advertiser, the coal operators are about to make the coal business as close a monopoly as the oil business and on practically the same lines as the Standard Oil people have followed. By this means they estimate a saving of at least \$15,000,000 a year. If the miners or the consumers were to receive the benefit of this saving it would be a move in the direction of helpfui co-operation but it will go chiefly if not altogether to those who have a monopoly on coal lands and to the railroads who will fix prices and act as distributing agents. Now watch the little coal dealers drop out of sight and another batch of Socialists appear in the arena. It takes quite a jar to make some people thimk.

The growth of the Socialist press is something remarkable. Five years ago there were but a dozen lonely papers to be found as voices crying in the wilderness and their subscription lists were slim indeed, the Appeal to Reason leading off with a few thousand readers. The daily press made as little reference to it as The Commoner does today. There are now something over a thousand papers devoted to Socialism. The Appeal has a weekly circulation of 300,000 while the Coming Nation and others are atter it at a lively pace. There is scarcely a daily paper that is not discussing it in almost every issue. It is the question of the hour, the paramount issue in politics, overshadowing all others in interest and importance —except in the office of The Commoner where, according to last reports, Democratic "harmony" continues to enjoy a complete monopoly.

BOOM THE VANGUARD

"The Vanguard will catch and stick where other Socialist papers will not," writes one of our workers. The same encouraging word comes to us from many quarters. Almost every day we hear of our magazine making converts to Socialism among people who have been uninfluenced by any other publication. If you want to help the cause boom The Vanguard Scirculation. To spur you on we renew the offer of four subscription for one dollar. Get up a club at once. Send in a big bunch of names at 25 cents each.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD

By EDWIN MARKHAM



E have been taught to look for a heaven afar in some spiritual space in the universe, and to expect it is something to which we are going.

There may be such a heaven, but this is not the heaven that is the burden of Jesus' words. He looked for a Fraternal Commonwealth that should be the political realization of the Sermon on the Mount.

He told not of a kingdom to which we are to go, but of a kingdom that is to come us. "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth"—this is the prayer.

But where are the elements of this kingdom? They are already here—all around us. Now, this very hour, we are in the midst of the raw materials of heaven. We are daily trampling them under our feet.

Was Christ philosophical in demanding that the Kingdom should be built on earth? Indeed He was; Christ proves Himself in this to be the supreme philosopher and statesman of the world. He saw the shaping force of social conditions. He saw that the human babe, for instance, is dependent on its social environment for the evolution of the human quality.

The study of the social order, then, should be the chief concern of the religious man. For what is religion? Religion is, at bottom, a social bond—a bond that binds all men into one Practical Brotherhood in God.

All Christ's words have reference to this social ideal that should end in the Kingdom that is to come on earth. This is the meaning of the New Birth—that we must strive to be born out of our brute individualism into the social spirit—out of our brute inheritance into our Divine inheritance—out of Satan-service into people-service—out of selfhood into otherhood.

And only the Kingdom, the Fraternal Commonwealth, furnishes an organ for this new spirit—furnishes a proper organ for the expression of the Christ spirit in things.

Nothing short of this will answer. We have tried substitutes, but they fail. We have tried charity-giving, but, worthy as the work is, it is not the one thing needful. The world needs justice, affectionate justice. It needs the extinction of all private monopolies and special privilege.

We have tried the churchification of the world, but despite the service rendered by the church in the past it is not the ideal of Christ.

Now, men everywhere are asking, "Where is God?" They see no God because they see no social providence. Millions and generations go down in squalor, disease, poverty and misery. So men are asking, "Where is God?"

The answer is, "God is where men find Him." His providence is where men organize providence.

Providence is latent; let us bring it forth by evolution. Men need a new will—the will of the social conscience.

So I prophesy the coming of the social man to build the social kingdom. He will be a practical Christian—the one who really does the will of the

Father. He will be the divine flower of the ages. He will move in the power of the social passion. He will reject self-riches, self-distinction, self-dominion, in his pursuit of the common good. He will recognize God and so will recognize the all. There will be no favoritism.

This practical Christian is coming—he is coming to do the Father's will, to build the social kingdom. And we are told that "of that kingdom there shall be no end." It will stand because built upon the rock of affectionate justice.

All other kingdoms are built upon the sand. They will perish-they are perishing.

All the records of the past bear witness that whatever is cruel or selfish is ephemeral and insecure.

THE HIGHER CATECHISM

By SAM WALTER FOSS

Let us ask ourselves some questions; for that man is truly wise Who can make a catechism that will really catechise.

All can make a catechism—none can keep it in repair:

Where's the workman can construct one that he'll guarantee will wear?

We are fronted from our birthday onward to the day we die

With a maximum of question and a minimum reply.

So we make our catechism; but our work is never done—

For a father's catechism never fits a father's son

What are we here for? That's the first one; that's the first we want to know. We are here and all born little, just because we're here to grow. What is sin? Why, sin's not growing; all that stops the growth within, Plagues the eternal upward impulse, stunts the spirit—that is sin. Who are sinners? All are sinners; but this is no hopeless plaint, For there never was a sinner who was not likewise a saint. What's the devil? A convenient but suppositious elf Each man builds to throw his sins on when he won't "own up" himself.

And where is hell? And where is heaven? In some vague distance dim? No, they are here and now in you—in me, in her, in him. When is the Judgment Day to dawn? Its true date who can say? Look in your calendar and see what day it is today! Today is always Judgment Day; and Conscience throned within Brings up before its judgment-seat each soul to face his sin. We march to judgment, each along an uncompanioned way—Stand up, man, and accuse yourself and meet your Judgment Day.

Where shall we get religion? Beneath the open sky,
The sphere of crystal silence surcharged with deity.
The winds blow from a thousand ways and waft their balms abroad,
The winds blow toward a million goals—but all winds blow from God.
The stars the old Chaldæans saw still weave their maze on high
And write a thousand thousand years their Bible on the sky.
The midnight earth sends incense up sweet with the breath of prayer—
Go out beneath the naked night and get religion there.

Where shall we get religion? Beneath the blooming tree,
Beside the hill-encircling brooks that loiter to the sea,
Beside all twilight waters, beneath all noonday shades,
Beneath the dark cathedral pines and through the tangled glades;
Wherever the old urge of life provokes the dumb, dead sod
To tell its thought in violets, the soul takes hold on God.
Go smell the growing clover, and scent the blooming pear,
Go forth to seek religion—and find it anywhere.

What is the church? The church is man when his awed soul goes out In reverence to the Mystery that swathes him all about.

When any living man in awe gropes Godward in his search,
Then, in that hour, that living man becomes the living church;
Then, though in wilderness or waste, his soul is swept along
Down naves of prayer, through aisles of praise, up altar-stairs of song:
And where man fronts the Mystery with spirit bowed in prayer,
There is the universal church—the church of God is there.

Where are the prophets of the soul? where dwells the sacred clan? Ah, they live in fields and cities, yea, wherever dwells a man. Whether he prays in cloistered cell or delves the hillside clod, Wherever beats the heart of man, there dwells a priest of God. Who are the apostolic line? the men who hear a voice Well from the soul within the soul that cries aloud, "Rejoice!" Who listen to themselves and hear this world-old voice divine—These are the lineage of seers, the apostolic line.

And what is faith? The anchored trust that at the core of things Health, goodness, animating strength flow from exhaustless springs; That no star rolls unguided down the rings of endless maze. That no feet tread an aimless path through wastes of empty days; That trusts the everlasting voice, the glad, calm voice that saith That Order grows from Chaos, and that life is born from death; That from the wreck of rending stars, behind the storm and scathe, There dwells a heart of central calm—and this, and this is faith.

What is the world's true Bible?—'tis the highest thought of man, The thought distilled from ages since the dawn of thought began. And each age adds its word thereto, some psalms or promise sweet—And the canon is unfinished and forever incomplete.

On the chapters that are written long and lovingly we pore—But the best is yet unwritten, for we grow from more to more. Let us heed the Voice within us and its messages rehearse:

Let us build the growing Bible—for we, too, must write a verse.

What is the purport of the scheme toward which all time is gone? What is the great æonian goal? The joy of going on. And are there any souls so strong, such feet with swiftness shod, That they shall reach it, reach some bourne, the ultimate of God? There is no bourne, no ultimate. The very farthest star But rims a sea of other stars that stretches just as far. There's no beginning and no end. As in the ages gone, The greatest joy of joys shall be the joy of going on.

POSSIBILITIES OF PSYCHOLOGY

By FREDERICK B. WILSON



HAT are the possibilities of psychology from your standpoint?"
This is the question asked by the editor; and believing that practical work is more welcome than theory, I will endeavor to confine myself to my own actual experience.

I will illustrate one result of this force in healing. A lady came to me and said: "Five years ago my mother died of consumption. At first. I did not worry in regard to my own health; but about two years ago I contracted a bad cold; it left me with a severe cough. I paid only ordinary attention to it until a friend said to me, 'You must be very careful of yourself; you remember what your mother's last sickness was.'

Then I began to worry; there was a constant pain in my side; I lost my appetite, and now I feel that I am losing ground rapidly. I have taken a great deal of medicine, but it does no good; I am discouraged and have about given up hope. Do you think it is possible for you to give me any help?" I told her I would try; and I felt sure we would get good results. She was willing to be hypnotized, and the suggestive condition was easily induced. Sitting by her side, I talked to her for thirty minutes or more, giving the proper suggestions. She came for several treatments, and the result was a perfect cure. The cough disappeared; she regained her usual weight and strength, and is now a well and happy woman.

This is one of the possibilities of psychology as a therapeutic agent.

Now let us look at the educational side of the question. A child had been ill for several months; it was necessary to keep her away from her studies. During this time her class advanced to a higher department. This so discouraged her that when she returned to school she was unable to make progress, or to regain lost ground. She begged her mother to take her from school, as she could not stay and see her classmates graduate ahead of her. Some friends advised the mother to try hypnotic suggestion. She came to see me about it, and the result was an arrangement to give her daughter treatment. Briefly, I will say that the change in the young lady was most wonderful—instantaneous, so to speak. She went forward very rapidly. Rushing in to her mother one afternoon, with a joyful expression illuminating her face, she cried, "Oh, mother; I'll catch up with them before the term closes." And she did. Later she said to me, "Mr. Wilson, all I have to do is to read my lessons over, and I can repeat every word."

There is another branch of psychology which, in my opinion, is very important to parents. It is that of education during the natural sleep. In this the child can be brought en rapport with the mother or father after the little one has retired for the night. By this method, bad habits can be cured, the dull intellect stirred into activity—but it would take more space than I am allowed in this article to treat this one branch of work. But let me say to parents: You surely make a great mistake if you do not familiarize yourselves with the subject. How to educate your children during the natural sleep is easily learned, and every father and mother should become proficient in this work.

In the sick room, in the hospital, and in all walks and conditions of life,

we will find hypnotism of great value. So it is with all trades, all professions; psychology will be a mighty lever to lift men to the pinnacle of success.

Now, do not get the impression that hypnotism is my hobby; that I am a "crank" on the subject. I am far from this, I assure you. I have plenty of "materialism" left in me yet. I believe in medicine as food for the body, and that physical training, deep breathing, etc., must go hand in hand with suggestive therapeutics. Suggestion is a thing of tangibility. We will find that it is the mighty power employed in advertising, in schools, in factories, in politics, in religion—in short, in all walks of life. Some know that they are using suggestion, and some don't know nor care what it is. They know that they get the result, and that is the main point. As a well known person has said, "Every one is a hypnotist, from the bootblack who persuades you to have a shine to the lover who wins a wife." Boston, Mass.

THE SOUL OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT

By B. O. FLOWER



N speaking of the condition of the civilized world when Christianity made its advent, the late Dr. Edwin Hatch, of Oxford University, observed that as we studied society at that time we should find that "it was an age when men were feeling after God, and not feeling in vain, and that from the domains of ethics, physics, and meta-physics alike, from the depths of moral consciousness and the cloud-land of poets' dreams the ideas of men were trooping in one vast host to proclaim with a united voice that there are not many gods, but only One, the First Cause, by whom all things were made, one Moral Governer whose providence was over all his work,

one Supreme Being of infinite power and goodness." It is needless to say that this spirit of investigation which permeated so many lives, this hunger for something more than form, rite, creed, dogma, or empty pretension, this feeling after a living God was not fostered by church or state. The sleek priests in the temples of Jupiter in Rome, Diana in Ephesus, or Minerva in Athens looked with the same spirit of intolerance and fear on the searching and aspiring spirits as when conventional society forced the hemlock to the lips of Socrates for conceiving and teaching something higher, finer and truer than the empty religion of his day. Nor did the rich men or the rulers look with favor upon this soul hunger, which sought in so many ways to rise above the fetters which encompassed life. They felt what Victor Hugo, more than eighteen centuries later, expresses in words, "The whole one side of actual society is tyrant and the other side is slave. "And being on the tyrant side the priest, the politician, and the patrician looked with displeasure at the rising tide of religious sentiment. As long as men blindly followed the priests they were in no danger of thinking great thoughts or spelling that wonderful word Freedom, the sound of which has ever made oppressors tremble. So long as the anathema of the priest, the lash of the master, the frown of good society and the stern arm

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of the law could hold the millions down the reign of materialistic animalism was secure. But first came the stoic philosophers, disturbing the stagnant peace which so fostered degradation; they dignified human nature; they insisted on man's seeking the approval of his own soul, and to do right because it was right, to think and act as became children of a high power. Hence these men were disturbers of the peace. Some were slain, some were banished, and their high, ennobling teachings were placed under the ban by conventional society as being antagonistic to what cruel and unjust rulers were pleased to call "good government," and what the licentious patricians termed "sound morality." Next came Christianity, preaching the Golden Rule, emphasizing the principle which in modern life has come to be known as Socialism or Mutualism. Teaching men to love God and their fellow beings, to, as Victor Hugo puts it, "Sing the ideal, to love humanity, to believe in progress, and to pray toward the Infinite." And what was the result? The followers of the most exalted moralist that ever lived, the One who taught that it was a sin, a crime to even entertain thought relative to things which are evil or criminal, the devoted followers of this sinless One were denounced as being grossly immoral, their teaching of human brotherhood was declared to be in essence anarchical or destructive to government. They were outlawed, hunted down as wild beasts, put to all manner of torture by "good society," by those who claimed to be defenders of church and state, the upholders of law and order.

Today we are facing another contest on the same issues. Today the attitude of millions of earth's children is aptly described by the eloquent words of Dr. Hatch at the beginning of this article. Today the principles of the Sermon on the Mount are stirring the souls of the lay millions as never before, and today the divisions of society are much the same as they were in that elder age. But we have intelligent millions where the masses of the Roman world were cloaked in ignorance. Our people have tasted something of the sweets of freedom; they have larger views of life and higher ideals than have the masses possessed at any previous period of life; they are coming into a realization of their rightful heritage, and because they love justice, because they appreciate the dignity of manhood, because they reverence the purity of womanhood, because they realize the marvelous possibilities of a society in which one-half shall no longer be tyrant and the other half slave, because they know that under just conditions, with the wonderful inventions of man and the fruitfulness of the earth. humanity "can proceed to grow Godward," can enjoy life and develop, physically, mentally, and spiritually, as never before, because they long for justice, freedom, fraternity, and the reign of the Golden Rule or the advent of Mutualism, and because they know the better way is as feasible as it is imperative they are demanding a change. The rapidly growing social spirit which is moving onward with increased momentum is profoundly religious in the truest sense of that long-abused term. It is intelligent, enlightened, and just. It will triumph. The forces of the day, seen and unseen, are leagued with it. The new order is assured. The present hour is big with possibilities never before within the reach of earth's millions. It is a time calling for high, unselfish thinking, pure and disinterested living. The august present demands a union of all who love with all

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who suffer. As the victory to be won is the most stupendous which has ever been achieved—the culmination of the dreams of the prophets and poets of the ages—so it calls for all the heroism, all the essential divinity in our being. What nobler epitaph could be placed over one's grave than the words, "Here lies one who helped usher in the glad new day." The future will bless the brave social reformers who today are fighting the battle of the ages for justice for all the people.

O happy, happy, ye, that ye were born In the sad slow night departing, in the rising of the morn. Fair the crown the cause has for you, well to die or well to live Through the battle, through the tangle, peace to gain or peace to give! Ah, it may be! Oft, meseemeth, in the days that yet shall be, When no slave of gold abideth twixt the breadth of sea to sea, Some shall pause awhile and ponder on the bitter days of old, Ere the toil of strife and battle overthrew the curse of gold; Then twixt lips of loved and lover solemn thoughts of us shall rise; We who once were fools and dreamers then shall be the brave and wise. There, amidst the world new-builded, shall our our earthly deeds abide, Though our names be all forgotten, and the tale of how we died. Life or death then, who shall heed it, would we gain or would we lose? Fair flies life amid the struggle, and the Cause for each shall choose. Here a word, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live and some to die.

LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

3, THE AIMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM



HE aims of American Socialism are two: the redemption of the people from their industrial kings, and the education of the people for industrial self-government. For the first of these-for the deliverance of the people from their present industrial bondage—three things are essentially necessary.

WRESTING OF POWER FROM INDUSTRIAL MONARCHS

The hold of industrial kings upon the processes of wealth production and distribution must first of all be loosened. And it must be loosened through the efforts of the people themselves. Few kings in the world's long past have volun-

tarily surrendered their powers and privileges. It would be folly to expect modern kings to be more generous. Believing, with President Baer, that to them "God, in his infinite wisdom, has given the control of the property interests of the country," the present-day "captains of industry" cannot be justly expected to surrender their divinely-acquired responsibilities. Believing sincerely in the justice and rightness of a government of the inferior many by the superior few—in the "stewardship" of a "natural aristocracy" of genius and talent—they would be grossly untrue to their ideals (to say nothing of their interests) did they surrender the authority they have acquired.

The contest is not one between capital and labor, nor one between the

trust and the labor union. It is the far greater and much more important struggle between the believers in monarchy, aristocracy, or "divine right," and the advocates of popular rights and abilities. From politics the contest is being transferred to industry, and upon one side or the other each American must take his stand. In such a struggle there is no such thing as compromise, no such half-way place as arbitration. Either the people must surrender their rights, or the industrial rulers their privileges. And the people will never long admit defeat; there is no end to the long warfare, no beginning of the better industrial order, until the industrial kings are overthrown, their powers and privileges wrested from them, and the industrial sovereignty of the people permanently established.

CHANGE OF PEOPLE FROM EMPLOYEES TO EMPLOYERS

Thus will the people cease to be wage-slaves. Thus will they come to be served, instead of themselves serving. They will be transformed from employees to employers. The change will not make of them a leisure class, living off the labor of others. They can never take the place of their former masters, any more than the people of older days, when they overthrew political monarchy, could take upon themselves all the attributes and characteristics of the absolute, irresponsible king. The former industrial master will be free—freer than were ever any of his old-time employees—to work for the wages offered by the new and popular industrial sovereign. The "wages" of capable and honest management may always be his; the people have always need of his services. But the unjust profits of monopoly, extortion, coercion, and the unjust use of industrial power, will be forever lost to him. The people will become their own employers. They will pass thus from the bondage of industrial slavery into the free-partnership of industrial democracy.

POPULARIZATION ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT

To maintain and improve upon their new industrial condition, the people will make the machinery of government more quickly and accurately responsible to their desires. The "check and balance" contrivance will be entirely done away with. The representative system—I trust no one may take offence at what seems to me a necessary truth—will probably largely disappear; and in its place I surmise there will appear some form of the referendum for all important public measures, with a larger number of popularly-controlled executive officers for the lesser ones. In this way the people will become their own legislators, while the carrying out of the popular desire will be committed to men over whom the people's power is immediate and absolute. The people will employ their own industrial managers, as they now employ their own political administrators.

EDUCATION IN INDUSTRIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

But even while this struggle is going on, and in order that it may have a successful outcome, American Socialism must be about the accomplishment of its second purpose: the education of the people in *industrial* self-goverment. Such an education will not come from books or schools, nor will it be imposed upon the masses by a learned upper class. It will be born of popular experience and intuition. It will come from the people's experiments in the control and operation of such municipal, state, and national industries and activities as affect vitally the public welfare. It

has already been extensively begun; it will increase with the spread of the industrial democratic idea; and its end is plain Socialism—an industry of, for, and BY the people themselves. This education and its good effects will increase from day to day and year to year, but reach a full fruition only after many attempts, considerable expense, and frequent errors. For the wisdom of the people is not the wisdom of God—else there were no need of educating it; it is a human wisdom, increasing with knowledge and experience. And upon the thoroughness and efficiency of this training in popular industrial government depends the character and success of Socialism.

NEW DISTINCTION BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE "RIGHTS"

Along with this education in industrial self-government must come the drawing of a new line of distinction between public and individual "rights." We are still much inclined to assert the "right of a man to do as he wishes with his own." But "a man's right to what he has" depends altogether on how he gets "what he has." If he obtains it by some method repugnant to the newly-awakening industrial-democratic conscience of the people—by some sort of industrial coercion or fraud—he has no right to it. In fact, he must not only restore that which he attempts thus wrongly to appropriate, but must also suffer due punishment for his crime against the public welfare. If mankind had not long ago objected to similar coercion and fraud on the part of kings in days past, we would yet be enduring the extortions and tyrannies of monarchy. The right of the one is limited by the rights of the many. Back of all despotism, all bondage-be it political or industrial-is some form of the old theory of "divine right;" and only in an appeal to the principle of popular rights is there any sure basis for either political or industrial democracy.

Men first drew this new line of distinction between public and individual rights in the matter of religion; then they drew it anew in political life; now they are extending it to the world of industry. Once drawn, it will mean the substitution of regulated and just competition for the unrestrained and hurtful competition of the present system. It will mean that each man may progress according to his own ability and industry, but that he cannot prevent anyone else from doing the same—which is just the difference between the present competitive idea, and the one Socialism wishes to substitute for it.

These various steps completed; the overthrow of the present industrial monarchy and the training of the people in the ways of industrial democracy accomplished, we shall have attained the great end and aim of Socialism—an *industrial* government "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Government and co-operation are in all things and eternally, the laws of life; anarchy and competition, eternally and in all things, the laws of death.—John Ruskin.

No matter what kind of a money-monger a man might have been, the moment he presents himself in the holy places of education and religion, bringing his bags with him, we clasp consecrated hands on him as the chosen of the Lord.—John Bascom.

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM

3. "Socialism is Materialistic"

Often, when I avow myself a Marxian Socialist, I am rebuked on account of my "barren materialism." "You cannot afford to ignore the moral aspects of this problem," said a man who is a church deacon to me.

"I agree," I answered.

"If you Marxian Socialists should ever succeed," said a doctor of divinity to me the other day, "the young would receive no moral instruction. And what would a world without morals be like?"

"Hell; as at present," I answered.

'You must have the love of Christ in your heart; that is the only way to solve the social problem," said a stout pot-bellied Assemblyman at a meeting where I spoke.

"That ye love one another is the love of Christ," I answered.

I saw little children of ten years of age drag themselves, O! so wearily, from the factory owned by the man who is a church deacon: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me," I said.

The doctor of divinity spoke next day to a company of youths and urged them to became soldiers. He bade them go forward in the name of Christ to do their fellows unto death: "'I am come that ye might have life'," I murmured; and before me was the vision of a cross.

In the State Assembly, the stout, pot-bellied Assemblyman voted Nay upon a measure demanding the abolition of child labor, and then voted Yea upon the granting of a million-dollar franchise to a corporation. I turned away with loathing: "'Love worketh no ill'," I cried.

In the Italian city of Reggie Emilia the Socialists were victorious; I thought of the children and of the words of the doctor of divinity.

"What will they do for the children?" I asked.

And the answer soon came. "They have given care to the physical needs of the children, to their minds, and to their moral well-being. They have given them these commandments to guide them aright:

"Love thy schoolmates, for they will be your co-workers through life. "Love knowledge, the bread of intellect; cherish the same gratitude toward the teachers as toward thy father and mother.

"Make every day thou livest the occasion for some good and beneficial deed; always sow the seeds of kindness.

"Honor good men and true women, esteem all men as equals, bend thy

knees to no one.

"Do not bear hatred to anybody, don't insult people. The word revenge shall not be in thy vocabulary, but stand up for thy rights and resist

"Do not be a coward. Stand by the weak, and respect and love justice. "Remember that all goods of this world are the product of labor. Whoever takes the good things of this world without giving their equivalent in labor robs the dilligent of their just dues."

My heart was glad as I read these commandments. "Reason and Righteousness are one," I said.

-JOHN SPARGO.

TWO MEN

By WALTER WELLMAN, in The Chicago Record-Herald.

Down in the coal mines of Illinois or Ohio or Indiana works a strong. brave man. He crawls on his belly. He faces hunger. He toils with might and main. He breathes foul Hour after hour he sweats and works. When he comes out of the hole in the ground and goes to his meager supper in his humble cabin, weary and begrimed, he has earned \$2. Of this he gives twenty cents to the cause, in support of a principle, in defense of American manhood. To meet this sacrifice his wife and children must give up something-a little less sugar on the table, no meat today, or baby must wait till next month for the much needed new shoes.

In a palace on Fifth Avenue in New York lives a man worth \$200,-000,000. He has his yacht and his country seat. Every luxury of the world is at his command. come is so great that he does not know what to do with it. But he, too, has his troubles. The thousands of employees of one of the many corporations which he controls have had the audacity to ask for better wages, a more just method of measuring their work, and for arbitration. He, too, is fighting for a principlethe principle that poor men who work with their hands have no right to ask for anything except such as their masters choose to give them.

THE NEW THOUGHT AND SOCIALISM

The essentials of the New Thought and of Socialism are identical and the religion of Humanity permeates equally the social, religious, and political life of the people. The two movements, in some form and at sometime, must merge into one. And it would seem as though the initial stages of their coming together had already been entered upon.

Socialism represents the general or collective form of treatment, and the New Thought the special or individual. Each has its place and purpose; and certain inharmonies may be adjusted to better advantage through the one or the other method. At times they will supplement each other; and at others they will be complementary. But they are essentially identical in their aims and purposes. One aims to exalt the individual through the elevation of society, while the other seeks to exalt society through the elevation of the individual.—Eugene Del Mar in Wilshire's Magazine.

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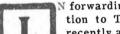
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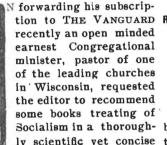
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SOCIALISM AND MODERN SCIENCE. by The Vanguard Press.





evolution) and Socialism, and shows

By piece of work. There is here a com-Enrico Ferri. Translated by Rob- plete refutation of the misleading arert R. La Monte. New York: The guments of the opponents of Social-International Library Pub. Co. 212 ism; and no Socialist or sincere invespp. cloth. Price \$1.00. For sale tigator of the subject should be without the volume.

> tion to THE VANGUARD RAJAYOGA, OR CONQUERING THE INTERNAL NATURE. By Swami Vivekananka, of India. New York: Publication Committee of the Vedanta Society. New edition. Cloth, 376 pp. Price \$1.50. For sale by The Vanguard

The author is the Hindu monk who Socialism in a thorough- became well known in America ly scientific yet concise through his connection with the and practical manner. In his re- World's Parliament of Religions and ply the editor placed this work by his lectures in several of our cities dur-Prof. Ferri at the head of the list. ing his visit to this country. The It is especially adapted to meet the subject dealt with in "Raja Yoga" is needs of that large class of American the development of the psychic powsympathizers with the Socialist move- ers latent in man, a study that is atment whose ideas of Socialism have tracting much attention at present come chiefly through their religious and which is not only shedding much teaching and their desire to see the light on questions relating to religion ethics of Christianity embodied in but promises to aid materially in the social life, yet who have only a vague solution of some difficult sociological conception of the scientific and eco- problems. The human mind is the nomic basis on which modern Social- most marvelous thing of which we ism rests. Accepting Darwinism, the knowanything, and it would seem that author refutes carefully the alleged we are only beginning to understand contradictions between Darwinism (or its wonderful and subtle workings.

This brilliant philosopher begins the latter to be the logical sequence by assuring us that there is, and can of the former. There is, however, no be, nothing supernatural; everything trace in this book of that merely me- in the universe is orderly and in absochanical conception of social progress lute conformity to nature's laws. We which characterizes some Socialistic may, however, learn much more about apologetics. No fair minded person those laws than we have hitherto who reads this book will longer per- known, and may arrive at a control mit the assertion to go unchallenged of them which to our present point that European Socialism stands for of view would seem impossible. Conviolence and assasination. As a de- centration, he says, is the key to unfence of the teachings of Karl Marx lock the door of nature. But the it is an admirable and convincing aim of Raja Yoga is far higher than

the mere gaining of psychic control. Its real object is to get beyond the mind itself to that ultimate Reality which is the background of all existence and of all religion. It tells us that "Each soul is potentially Divine. The goal is to manifest this Divinity within, by controlling nature, external and internal. Do this and be free. Doctrines, or dogmas, or rituals, or books, or temples, or forms are but secondary details."

We cannot go at length into the method here described. Suffice that it is set forth in a plain and simple manner, in marked contrast to much of what is written on the same subject. The spirit of the book is candid and appeals to what is best in man. Whether we accept the views and conclusions or not we must admire the beautiful toleration which is here manifested and advocated. from its valuable suggestions to aid in reaching the higher life, the book is well worth reading to broaden our ideas and sympathies and show us that the "heathen" of "India's coral strands," whom we have been taught to regard only as "souls benighted," possess a degree of spiritual insight and Christian charity which is too often wanting among us. We may yet learn some things from our brethren of the Orient. We need to be reminded that Jesus himself was an oriental, for as Mozoondar has said to us: "You have made an Englishman of Christ."

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THE SPIRITUAL OUTLOOK. A Survey of the Religious Life of Our Time as related to Progress. By Willard Chamberlain Selleck. Boston: Little. Brown & Co. Cloth, 349 pp. Price \$1.00, net. For sale by The Vanguard Press.

Everybody interested in the ligious movements of today will find this a delightful and helpful volume. From the standpoint of a Christian optimist and an honest, broadminded. unbiassed thinker, the author discusses the diverse elements in our religious life in a way that cannot but clarify opinion and inspire confidence regarding the changes now taking place in all departments of thought. The judgments pronounced are eminently fair and the conclusions reached. are well stated. The analysis of the strength and weakness of Christian Science is exceedingly well the contributions of Unitarianism and Universalism to the "new orthodoxy" are set forth in a candid and favorable light; and the restatement of the motives for Christian missions is one of the most valuable parts of this profitable book. throughout thorough scholarship, vigorous faith and sound reasoning. Its reading will do great good.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviews of some of these books will be given later)

THE PSYCHIC AND PSYCHISM. A sytsematic treatise on Psychic phenomena. By A. C. Halphide, M. D. Chicago: Author's Publishing Co. Cloth, 228 pp. Price \$1.00.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 189 pp. Price 50c.

DEATH DEFEATED, OR HOW TO KEEP YOUNG. By J. M. Peebles, M. D. Battle Creek, Mich. Temple of Health Pub. Co. Cloth, 216 pp. Price \$1.25.

SUGGESTION AND OSTEOPATHY. By W. I. Gordon, M. D. Cleveland, Ohio. Suggestive Therapeutic Pub. Co. Cloth, 808 pp. Price \$1.50. For sale by I. W. Long, London, Ohio.

HENRY ASHTON. A Socialist novel. By R. A. Dague, M. D. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 235 pp. 75c.

PRACTICAL HYPNOTISM. By O Hashnu Hara. London, Eng.: Apocalyptic Pub. Co. Paper, 108 pp. Price 30c.

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itualism.-mark well-not of the New Testament. "talked" in the presence of Peter, contrary is the reverse of it. James and John, with Jesus. The

Scriptures abound in visions, trances, gifts of tongue, gifts of healing, as The reception and reading of THE well as grandly inspired truths.

If Spiritualism consists of denying ure. Its contents abound in broad, the existence of God, then I am not a Probably, Spiritualist. If Spiritualism consists with myself, you put the upright, in denying the existence of Christ Christlike life before sectarian dog- and his spiritualizing power, I am not mas. It is not so much what a man a Spiritualist. If Spiritualism conbelieves as what he is that insures sal- sists in denying the Holy Spirit, the spirit of truth, then I am not a Spirit-For fifty and more years I have been ualist. If Spiritualism consists in a believer in and an advocate of Spir- denying the necessity of repentance spirit- and prayer, of faith and living trust ism, which is only another name for in the Divine, of the truth and efficien-Babylonian necromancy, seeking con- cy of religion, and the living of a right, verse with the so-called dead for curi- conscientious and spiritual life, then osity, for the finding of lost property, I am not a Spiritualist. Spiritualism the hunting of gold mines, and all is not atheism, for Spiritualists besuch selfish purposes. If this were lieve in the Infinite Intelligence-in the spirit witchcraft that Moses de- God, the Father Almighty-in His innounced, he did well. But Spiritual- finite love and justice, wisdom and ism, the antithesis of materialism, is power. Spiritualism is not infidelity, another matter entirely. Religious for Spiritualists believe in the words Spiritualism, as I understand it, is in of Peter, "Jesus of Nazareth, a man perfect accord with the Christianity approved of God, among you, by mir-Moses, a acles (spiritual manifestations) and thousand years dead and buried, ac- wonders and signs which God did by cording to the record, appeared on him in the midst of you." Spiritualthe mount of transfiguration, and ism is not materialism, but on the

Spiritualism is of God, and the



mightiest, divinest word in the univese, except God or the Christ of God. The cornerstone, the foundation of Spiritualism, is Spirit, and God is Spirit, essential and immutable. Spiritualism, in its broadest sense, is a knowledge of everything pertaining to the spiritual nature of human be-It is cosmopolitan, eclectic, uplifting and heaven-inspiring. Spiritualists, being believers in the Christ, have the spiritual gifts-the gift of converse with the so-called dead, the gifts of healing, the gift of tongues, the gift of clairvoyantly discerning the spirits, and other gifts spoken of in the ancient scriptures. Spiritualists, believing in the great law of evolution, teach that there is a great reward for well-doing, and certain punishment for every wrong action; that all the good and divine that is attained here, will be retained when entering the spiritual world; that we are building now, by our conduct and characters, our homes in the future state of existence.

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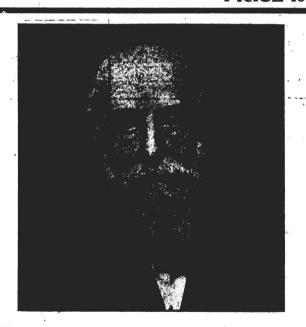
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A Magazine of Progress

APRIL, 1903

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AND DEFINITE MEANING, NOT BY OUR WORDS CHIEFLY, BUT BY OUR LIVES AND OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER.—Lyman Abbott,

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J. M. A. SPENCE

EDITOR

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"Move to the fore!
God himself waits and must wait till thou come.
Men are God's prophets, though ages lie dumb.
Halts the Christ kingdom, with conquest so near?
Thou art the cause, then, thou man at the rear.
Move to the fore!"

VOL. 1.

GREEN BAY, WIS., APRIL, 1903.

NO. 6

5 EDITORIAL

This country, said Lincoln, cannot remain half slave and half free. He was not talking then of industrial slavery as it exists today, but his words are as applicable to the conditions now as then, conditions which Lincoln foresaw and warned us against. Paraphrasing Lincoln's declaration, Dr. Lyman Abbott says: "We cannot have a country part democratic and part autocratic," and he declares himself in favor of democracy. "We cannot do away with combinations," he continues, "the question is whether they shall be democratic or autocratic." In other words the question is whether the nation shall own the trusts or the trusts own the nation. Socialism we are bound to have or despotism and chaos. Dr. Abbott does not hesitate to avow his faith: "I believe," he says, "the movement toward Socialism in this country to be irresistible, and I believe, too, it ought not to be resisted."

THE VANGUARD believes in Socialism because it believes in Christianity. By Christianity we mean, not theological speculations and ecclesiastical vestments, but the religion of love and service which Jesus lived and taught; not dogmas and forms but plain every-day right doing and the Christspirit of justice and brotherhood in all the relations of men to each other. Creeds and churches we believe in only so far as they stand for these things and inspire men to practice We further believe in Socialism because we believe in the soundness of its economics. It rests on a thoroughly scientific basis. It offers the only possible solution of the industrial problem. But this is simply saying that the Golden Rule ought to be and can be made the working law of life, that it is the only wise and safe basis for society and government. Some Socialists reach this conclusion by reasoning along the purely economic side of the question. Others find in its ethical aspect that which appeals to them most strongly. is no real difference between the two. There is unanimity as to the meaning and aim of Socialism. Both recognize altruis m and mutualism as essential to human welfare and progress. This fundamental agreement is an argument of tremendous force. All straight roads lead to Socialism. Life is one. The race is one. Life is moral. The progress of the race is moral progress. It was Mazzini who said: "Every political question is rapidly becoming a social question, and every social question a religious one." Only let us not confound religion with "religiosity." Here is a distinction which Jesus was ever careful to draw and emphasize. For tasts, fringes and the whole paraphernalia of "religiosity" he cared nothing. For truth and righteousness he cared everything. This is pure religion, and this is Socialism. Its ethics and the ethics of Christianity are identical.

What, then, shall the attitude of the Christian church and ministry be? It is to be hoped that for the church's own sake it has learned something from history. Yet how sadly true are the words of John Bascom:

"Reforms of the most imperative character meet with hesitating and wavering support from the church, and sometimes encounter bitter opposition. Most of the social questions of the last hundred years have brought nearly as much discredit as credit to the church."

Surely the time has come for the church to change its attitude and to boldly face the great social problem that is pressing for settlement, and to proclaim the Gospel of the Kingdom which means "the righting of social wrongs, the rigid squaring of institutions and laws by the Nazarene Carpenter's divine square of justice." Never was there such an opportunity before the organized religious forces of America as today. They can lead in the struggle; can push forward to the goal; can bear witness to the economic soundness of Christ's teachings, to the practicability of the Golden Rule in industrial life, or they can still content themselves to lag away behind; fearful of "consequences," careful of "bread and butter," choosing ever the line of least resistance, feeble, ineffective, busy with "the puerilities of piety"—a parody on the religion of Jesus.

We are glad to note the increasing number of clergyment who are actively identifying themselves with the Socialist movement. Every week we hear of new accessions and we look for remarkable developments in this direction within the year. There is a strong undercurrent of Socialist sentiment among the ministers of the country. How could it be otherwise? What a field for conscience is here? Says Professor Albion W. Small, head of the department of Sociology in the

University of Chicago:

"Capital has become the most undemocratic, inhuman, and atheistic of all the heathen divinities. It would be infinitely more for human weal if every dollar of wealth should be cleaned from the earth; if we could have instead of it industry, and honesty, and justice, and love and faith, than be lead much further into this devil's dance of capitalism."

Socialism is nothing else than the protest of the growing social conscience against this most godless, heartless tyranny of the ages. What can the Christian minister do but cast in his lot with the movement?

In a communication to the editor, a clergyman who has recently declared for Socialism, writes:

"Why should I be ashamed of my views on social and economic questions when I am not ashamed of the truths that cluster around the cross? It will afford me more satisfaction to declare my views now than to wait ten or twenty years until the slanderous misrepresentations of Socialism have been removed and the sublime philosophy of the movement is better seen and more fully appreciated. In this movement for human welfare the church should be in front."

This is surely the manly and reasonable position to take. Any movement for human betterment finds plenty of friends when it has become popular and respectable and when one runs no risk and makes no sacrifice in allying himself with it. But it is little to a man's credit to wait until a good cause has won its way through the heroic effort of others before he is willing to enroll himself among its adherents.

No man should stand aloof from Socialism because there may be some things about it that do not quite suit him or because he is not in accord with every detail of the movement at the present time. We have heard ministers say to those who remained outside and criticized the churches: "If you do not think the churches are what they ought to be, go in and make them better." The point has been well made, and it points both ways. It holds good with reference to the attitude of those who rail at the churches yet who do nothing to improve these organizations. But let our church friends remember that it holds good in regard to their attitude toward the Socialist movement. This movement for social justice and for the uplift of humanity demands their aid now. As one who has borne witness to the truth at no small cost writes:

"I could not wait until Socialism should be exactly pleasing to me in all its aspects, or until I should be altogether pleasing to Socialists in some of my views of life: my place was with my compades, sharing with them their struggles, the defeats and disgraces that are always involved in the first creative steps of an organized movement."

Many persons who today are ready to cast the stone of contempt at the Socialist movement will be anxious enough in

a few years to be counted among its ardent supporters. This will be especially true with the men in the pulpits and pews of the churches. Already their sympathies are with the movement, and they only lack faith and courage to demand the application of Christ's teachings of justice and brotherhood in the industrial world. Even the Roman Catholic church, which is now so pronounced in its opposition to Socialism, will one day be glad to point back to Fathers McGrady and Hagerty and count them among its most loyal sons, saying: "Were not these devoted priests pioneers of the Co-operative Commonwealth?"

"Socialism is all very fine in theory, but it wouldn't work," is one of the stock "arguments" of its opponents. And this is said with a top-lofty air as though it settled the whole question. But Socialism does work. Here is a sample of its working. Mr. Wm. E. Curtis, the well known newspaper correspondent, writes in the Chicago Record-Herald as follows:

"The Socialists are in control in the city council of Berlin, and it may not be a coincidence only that experts in municipal problems are almost unanimous in the opinion that the city government of Berlin comes nearer to the ideal than that of any other great city in the world. There every one of the prominent municipal officers, from the mayor down, is employed because of his talents and peculiar skill, instead of for political reasons. The municipal officers of Berlin are selected just as the board of directors of a railway company select engineers, their general manager or their superintendents, in order to obtain the highest degree of talent and secure the best service, and to raise them above the control of any individual or corporate anarchist, or party organization, who may desire to interfere with the management of public affairs. When a vacancy occurs in the city government of Berlin and other German cities where the Socialists have control, they seek throughout the country for the best man in that line, and some specialist who has distinguished himself in a similar position, and is not only entitled to advancement but can be more serviceable to them than any other man, is elected to fill the position."

This is not a bad showing to make in imperialistic Germany. No "dead level" about it either. No destruction of "incentive," after all. Nothing "immoral" that we can detect in such business methods. No attack upon religion or the home. What's the matter with Socialism, anyway? Let us whisper it: "No political 'pull," no chance for 'boodle', that's what's the matter with Socialism." Of course it wouldn't "work." No "grafter" need apply. See the point?

An encouraging sign of the times is the change that is noticeable in the way Socialism is discussed by independent newspapers and in particular the Chicago Record-Herald which stands at the head of the daily press in character, influence and circulation. The Sunday Record-Herald devotes

columns of its "Battle Ground" each week to the movement. Here some of the ablest Socialist writers present their arguments. But what is more significant is the editorial attitude of this journal. While not avowedly Socialistic it is doing good work for the cause. It has repeatedly pointed out the wide difference between Socialism and anarchy, while the Chicago Chronicle, Milwaukee Sentinel and other party organs continue to associate the two—something which we can no longer attribute to ignorance but to a deliberate intention to deceive and prejudice the public mind. The Record-Herald not only seeks to give a fair definition of Socialism but has gone so far as to defend and uphold its claims against its most plausible opponents. Thus, under the heading, "The Bugaboo of Socialism," it recently showed that the movement is simply a continuance of the fight against feudal lords and extortionate kings for human liberty, saying:

"There is nothing novel in the idea when applied to moneyed monopolies. A new application of the old principle cannot be damned by calling it Socialistic. On the contrary the contest of centuries will be continued with greater spirit than ever because the greater the intelligence of the people is the more will it be outraged at the thought of a nation's paying a species of tribute to a few individuals and corporations."

Again, replying to the assertion of Father Gleason that Socialism would "make the individual nothing," the Record-Herald pointedly declares: "Individualism is threatened with extinction under the present system." When such papers talk in this fashion there is something "doing." But perhaps the most "dangerous" utterance of this metropolitan journal of late has been in regard to what it terms "the shibboleth of prosperity," meaning the attempt being made by the monied interests to lead the workers to suppose that high prices and increased volume of business are cause for jubilance while the average wage earner is really suffering from less purchasing ability than formerly. After showing from figures carfully compiled that the cost of living has increased from 25 to 33\frac{1}{3} per cent. while in some cases only wages have increased from 10 to 20 per cent, the editor says: "For thousands upon thousands of people this means just so much money out of pocket without compensatory gains of any sort." The "stand pat" bubble he then punctures with the following incisive paragraph:

"The prosperity which stops before it increases the incomes of the wage-earners all over the country, in proportion at least to the increased cost of living coincident to prosperity, produces a condition which is not healthy and cannot be enduring. What will it profit American industry if it conquer the whole world's trade while its own millions find their revenues decreasing in proportion to the cost of living?"

THE TREND OF THOUGHT AMONG THE CHURCHES

Rev. R. F. Coyle, D. D., Central Presbyterian Church, Denver.

The rising power of the people I consider the most significant thing on the horizon today. Demos, the common man, is asserting himself. The era of the common man is dawning; democracy is shaking thrones and compelling attention on the part of Christendom. Long the people were dumb; then they began to stammer a little. They were trying to say something, but their tongues seemed to be tied. They could not tell what was in them struggling for utterance. A little later their stammering became speech. Their protesting souls found expression. Now their speech is a gospel. With burning, passionate eloquence they are preaching a new salvation, the salvation of society.

From Siberia to California there is a breaking away from the dominions of every sort; from priestcraft dominions, moneycraft dominions, dominions autocratic, plutocratic and religiocratic. You see it in Russia, in Germany, in England, in the United States and even in Spain.

Look at our own country, and I doubt whether we shall see anything quite so striking, quite so worthy of earnest thought, as the increased assertiveness of democracy. Capital is feeling it; politics is feeling it; the church and the press and literature are feeling it. As a proof consider the march of Socialism. No other word so accurately expresses the fact. Ten years ago the Socialistic vote in this country was 30,000; today it is 400,000. At the same rate of increase, Socialism will elect a President of this United States before 1920. Thinking men no longer pooh-pooh this movement.

Rev. Edward E. Hale, D. D., South Congregational Church, Boston.

There is an improvement correcting the sensitiveness which people had a few years ago about using the word "Socialist." I think people are finding out that in a way we are all Socialists. The man who buys a share in the Elevated Railroad Company is so far a Socialist. The man who insures his house in a mutual company is so far a Socialist. In modern life, indeed, very few of us live lives so like Robinson Crusoe's that we are not sometimes "Socialists." True, you can conceive of a man who lives in his own cave, gathers his own leaves for his bed, washes his own face in the brook which goes by, picks his own acorns and chestnuts and pig-nuts for his own breakfast, dinner, and supper. But there are not many such men. Most of us are, to a certain extent Socialists, because Socialism is more comfortable and easy than a separate life, which, indeed, Artemas Ward would describe as a "cussed life." There is a very close alliance between what people call democracy and what they call Socialism.

Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Jewish Rabbi, Chicago.

The teachings of Judaism are practically identical with the principles of Socialism. The principles of Socialism are the basis of all modern government. In the teachings of Judaism property in land is unknown. In the Pentateuch, which the champions of orthodoxy claim as a direct mandate from God, it is stated that no piece of land can be held in perpetuity.

What is this but a teaching of Socialism? The doings of the last year have made many persons think of Socialism who never knew aught but individualism before. We have been taught that certain things produced by nature ought to be used for the benefit of all. Whatever we have had given to us by God has been given us as stewards, and we are responsible for the use we make of it. Our civilization is only a promise, not a performance. and will never be a performance while men stalk about in naked conceit of wealth and others cry out for the right to work for bread. Many people balk at the word Socialism, but they do not realize that there are certain American institutions of which Americans are proud in which we have adopted purely Socialistic principles. There are our public schools, public libraries, universities, county hospitals, institutions for the care of the insane and laws for the protection of people at work in factories. All modern government is proceeding along the line of these institutions, and these are the teachings of Judaism. The ultimate note of our religion is true. humane, enlightened Socialism.

Bishop Henry C. Potter; Protestant Episcopal, New York.

I have stood by the open excavation of the new underground railroad in New York city, looking at the men digging. They have told me that they got \$2 a day for fair days when the work could go on. Living is expensive in New York. These are not the submerged; they are the men of brawn and health. They are the "labor."

I have gone through the corridors of the fashionable hotel at midnight hours and looked on the diners and winers, with liveried waiters obsequiously serving the viands of all kinds.

These are the "employers."

Are the interests of the two classes mutual? Can easy going optimism conjure up any relation between the two? Can any bridge span the chasm between them?

When I go through our factories and and see fine able-bodied men, dexterous, earnest men working nine hours a day every day and every year a life through, fashioning the uncouth raw material of wood and metal and marble into house material I ask myself, "Will the laborer have any of these polished and luxurious appliances in the home of his family, or will they only go into the well-to-do. the mansions of the rich—the 'employer' class?" Are the interests of the laborer and capitalist mutual in this work?

I know full well that many will say the money payments settle the whole score; but even if that were so, is there any mutuality where one makes and the other enjoys?

Rev. Father Mario Oddario, Roman Catholic Priest, Turin, Italy.

Advancing the cause of Socialism is not the work of factions and giddy heads, as some think, who see scarecrows in every new movement, but the progress of humanity.

I call Socialism the doctrine of love and justice which was taught by Christ. Socialism is not tumult, destruction and ruin, but is food and work for all, a home and clothing for all, a living assured to all, happiness and justice for all. Socialism means being the sons of God and brothers, not in word but in deed.

I DO NOT ASK FOR EASE

By J. WILLIAM LLOYD

O Life of mine, yield me great work, great work! Let not my sentence be a weakling's victory! Give me the foremost rank, I shall not shirk! Grant that the central peaks of Truth I see

Beyond all gulfs and misty miles of mirk!

The years of ease I do not ask for me, Or peace from pain, but just a brave man's artery. Beating the onward march where pale threats lurk.

I ask for great result and beauteous deed, The strength to give, and human helpful gain, To hold the one word Freedom for my creed. To sow in virgin soils the Future's seed, Eloquence to speak, and courage calm to bleed: I do not ask for ease or peace from pain.

WESTFIELD, N. J.

PROGRESS

By Rev. FRANK O. HALL

The human race is not formed like an army, standing shoulder to shoulder in regular order and solid column, and moving forward with rythmical footsteps that beat as one. We all are struggling up the hill, impelled by haunting unrest with which God has gifted the soul of man, and urged from behind by the fear of what we have left there. We are baited and driven on by unseen forces. Now and then some man with superior energy forges ahead and gains a height, never beyond calling distance, but still much loftier than that occupied by the multitude. Then this lone pilgrim, enchanted by the view which he obtains, calls back, and urges the multitude on, crying: "It is better up here! the air is purer, the scenery grander!" One would suppose that the multitude, hearing such a voice, would respond to it, rejoice in the message, and hurry forward with re-doubled energy. But, somehow, that is not human nature. First of all, the crowd begins to laugh. "Ha! ha!" they cry. "Look at the fool! He thinks that he sees more than we. Really, he sees nothing at all. All he sees is in his mind's eye,-the eye of a disordered mind. Ha! ha!" cries the multitude. But the man on the heights keeps on calling. Then people begin to get angry. They curse him. They revile him. They declare he is trying to coax the whole human race over a precipice. They throw stones and mud at him. And in the end they probably drag him down from the height and kill him, and cast contempt upon his corpse. But, later, one man will begin to say to another, "I wonder what he saw up there, anyway!" and they climb to find out, and will discover that what the scout affirmed was true. And then more and more climb, until this spot, explored by the man of courage first of all: becomes the camping-ground of humanity. NEW YORK!CITY.

THE SOUL OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT

By B. O. FLOWER.



N speaking of the condition of the civilized world when Christianity made its advent, the late Dr. Edwin Hatch, of Oxford University, observed that as we studied society at that time we should find that "it was and age when men were feeling after God, and not feeling in vain, and that from the domains of ethics, physics, and meta-physics alike, from the depths of moral consciousness and the cloud-land of poets' dreams the ideas of men were trooping in one vast host to proclaim with a united voice that there are not many gods, but only One, the First Cause, by whom all things were made, one Moral Governer whose providence was over all his work, "

one Supreme Being of infinite power and goodness." It is needless to say! that this spirit of investigation which permeated so many lives, this hunger for something more than form, rite, creed, dogma, or empty pretension. this feeling after a living God was not fostered by church or state. The: sleek priests in the temples of Jupiter in Rome, Diana in Ephesus, or Minerva in Athens looked with the same spirit of intolerance and fear on the searching and aspiring spirits as when conventional society forced the hemlock to the lips of Socrates for conceiving and teaching something higher, finer and truer than the empty religion of his day. Nor did the rich men or the rulers look with favor upon this soul hunger, which sought; in so many ways to rise above the fetters which encompassed life. They felt what Victor Hugo, more than eighteen centuries later, expresses in words, "The whole one side of actual society is tyrant and the other side is slave." And being on the tyrant side the priest, the politician, and the patrician looked with displeasure at the rising tide of religious sentiment. As: long as men blindly followed the priests they were in no danger of thinking. great thoughts or spelling that wonderful word Freedom, the sound of which has ever made oppressors tremble. So long as the anathema of the priest, the lash of the master, the frown of good society and the stern arms of the law could hold the millions down the reign of materialistic animalism was secure. But first came the stoic philosophers, disturbing the stagnant peace which so fostered degradation; they dignified human nature; they insisted on man's seeking the approval of his own soul, and to do right because it was right, to think and act as became children of the high power. Hence these men were disturbers of the peace. Some were slain, some were banished, and their high, ennobling teachings were placed under the ban by conventional society as being antagonistic to what cruel and unjust rulers were pleased to call "good government," and what the licentious patricians termed "sound morality." Next came Christianity, preaching the Golden Rule, emphasizing the priciple which in modern life has come to be known as Socialism or Mutualism. Teaching men to love God and their fellow beings, to, as Victor Hugo puts it, "Sing the ideal, to love humanity, to believe in progress, and to pray toward the Infinite." And what was the result? The followers of the most exalted moralist that ever lived, the One who taught that it was a sin, a crime to even entertain thought relative to things which are evil or criminal, the devoted followers of this sinless One were denounced as being grossly immoral, their teaching of human brotherhood was declared to be in essence anarchical or destructive government. They were outlawed, hunted down as wild beasts, put to all manner of torture by "good society," by those who claimed to be defenders of church and state, the upholders of law and order.

Today we are facing another contest on the same issues. Today the attitude of millions of earth's children is aptiv described by the eloquent words of Dr. Hatch at the beginning of this article. Today the principles of the Sermon on the Mount are stirring the souls of the lay millions as never before, and today the divisions of society are much the same as they were in that elder age. But we have intelligent millions where the masses of the Roman world were cloaked in ignorance. Our people have tasted something of the sweets of freedom; they have larger views of life and higher ideals than have the masses possessed at any previous period of life: they are coming into a realization of their rightful heritage, and because they love justice, because they appreciate the dignity of manhood, because they reverence the purity of womanhood, because they realize the marvelous possibilities of a society in which one-half shall no longer be tyrant and the other half slave, because they know that under just conditions, with the wonderful inventions of man and the fruitfulness of the earth. humanity "can proceed to grow Godward," can enjoy life and develop, physically, mentally, and spiritually, as never before, because they long for justice, freedom, fraternity, and the reign of the Golden Rule or the advent of Mutualism, and because they know the better way is as feasible as it is imperative they are demanding a change. The rapidly growing social spirit which is moving onward with increased mcmentum is profoundly religious in the truest sense of that long-abused term. It is intelligent, enlightened, and just. It will triumph. The forces of the day, seen and unseen, are leagued with it. The new order is assured; The present hour is big with possibilities never before within the reach of earth's millions. It is a time calling for high, unselfish thinking, pure and disinterested living. The august present demands a union of all who love with all who suffer. As the victory to be won is the most stupendous which has ever been achieved—the culmination of the dreams of the prophets and poets of the ages-so it calls for all the heroism, all the essential divinity in our being. What nobler epitaph could be placed over one's grave than the words, "Here lies one who helped usher in the glad new day." The future will bless the brave social reformers who today are fighting the battle of the ages for justice for all the people.

O happy, happy, ye, that ye were born In the sad slow night departing, in the rising of the morn.

Fair the crown the cause has for you, well to die or well to live Through the battle, through the tangle, peace to gain or peace to give!

Ah, it may be! Oft, meseemeth, in the days that yet shall be, When no slave of gold abideth twixt the breadth of sea to sea,

Some shall pause awhile and ponder on the bitter days of old, Ere the toll of strife and battle overthrew the curse of gold;

Then twixt lips of loved and lover solemn thoughts of us shall rise; We who once were fools and dreamers then shall be the brave and wise. There, amidst the world new-builded, shall our earthly deeds abide, Though our names be all forgotten, and the tale of how we died.

Life or death then, who shall heed it, would we gain or would we lose? Fair flies life amid the struggle, and the Cause for each shall choose.

Here a word, a word in season for the day is drawing nigh When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live and some to die. BOSTON, MASS.

NEW YORK DIVISION OF HELL

By EDWIN MARKHAM



HO! This is the New York Greek colony, eh?
Whew! What dirt, what disorder!"

This was my cry as three of us—Sir Youthful, Sir Grayhead and myself—began picking our way through Roosevelt street. Everywhere little clumps of little children, of little groups of noisy tradesmen. Every one seemed to be busy, but all things were confusion—no order, no beauty, no high intelligence. Was it to such as these that St. Paul preached on Mars Hill? Was it for such as these that Socrates drank the hemlock? No, since there has been a thousand years of the "Unspeakable Turk."

"Look out or you will step on these half-naked little fellows. A man's big foot would flatten one out like a fly."

We stop a moment to look at seven little tots, all crowded in the cranny of a wall. The least one of these little fellows was eating with great satisfaction a penny's worth of miserable ice cream. This little one was a great tradgedy, with its chalk face, pinched features and starving expression in the eyes. It was one of those terrible babes that are old at birth.

On all hands there were the indications of watered milk and adulterated food. But there were also the shadowy remains of the old and classic beauty. The Greek outline, the small Attic features, the fawnlike eyes that do not think but feel! In the midst of all this squalor arises the imposing front of a Greek Catholic church. At the sight of it there bursts upon us memories of the great Constantine and the splendors of the Byzantian era.

My guide directed me to a place in Chrisie street. "This is a sweat-shop," said my guide, and at the words, with the glance that followed, I thought of the bloody sweat of Christ—the eternal martysdom of man. We had to step softly through the dark, winding and slippery passages that led to this human hell. Soon we were on the third floor, looking out upon the neighboring roofs, covered with refuge and garbage, broken bottles and sloppy pools, Deadly odors were continually blowing through the workshops. The work people were bowed to their work with a strained intensity in every movement. Anxiety was written on every feature. Hunger rode astraddle, with spurs on his heels, as if death came riding hard behind.

Every worker, in every room was more or less misshapen. Those who ran machines had great humps on their shoulders, hideous abominable dis-

tortions of the majesty that God made. Out through all this horror would sometimes break a crackling rill of laughter. Truly it was a Dantesque scene.

At one of these houses we entered, the old lady thought we were intending to purchase the building. Her face suddenly brightened. She led the way through winding halls. She gave a gutteral cry as she reached the back yard and a dozen young ragmufflins scattered to a dirty wool sack in the corner. She saw nothing but virtue in the old rookery. "See what sunny rooms." All of them were dingy and dark. Perhaps the mole, too, finds joy in his unlit chambers below ground. But the mole gets his rent for nothing, while these wretched families are forced to pay \$7.50 a month for one wretched little room. And this room, this rat-hole, this den of dirt, is a home.

So, after all I have seen, I am certain that I have found the "hoeman" taking root on our American soil. Certainly the decadent of labor is here in the making. Give us time and we will be able to "point with pride" to a fascinating horror equal to the older lands. As we passed out to the open air someones remarked that Colonel Ingersoll was always insisting that there was no hell. What fatuity, thought I. While theologians have been debating whether or not God ever make a devil in the industrial work of the world.

In these last days society is confronted by two gigantic evils—the trust and the sweatshop. They are two giants destroying the industrial life of the republic. One stands for congested capital and the other for emaciated poverty. They are the reductio ad absurdum of the competitive system. They come from a failure to justly distribute the products of labor. They noth show the power of co-operative principle. They are the modern Titans who are shaking the public safety so that everywhere the voices are beginning to cry: "Let us consider the new duties of new occasions—let us build the New Republic." Co-operative industry, then, is the hope of the New Time. In the ever-enlarging realization of the principle of fraternity is the hope of social progress—in this age, and in all ages.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

SOCIALISM VS. INDIVIDUALISM

By CHARLES H. VAIL



HE individualist method of abolishing social evils deals with the individual. The individualist sees that people are actuated by selfish motives, and so concludes that the social evils from which we suffer are due to the "ever selfish human heart." Many of the clergy belong to this class. They seldom if ever really inquire as to the cause of selfishness, much less take the time and study necessary to analyze present industrial conditions. They rather fall in with things as they are, and observing that their precepts are disregarded they usually ascribe the cause to the perversity of human

nature. It rarely occurs to a member of this class that there are environ-

ing forces which nullify all his efforts. Not being familiar with the economic question, he naturally traces all social evils to man's selfishness, and his remedy, of course is to preach and awaken the conscience and inculcate the desire for things. This is well as far as it goes, but if sermons were all that is necessary to elevate society, it would have been accomplished long ago. We have had over eighteen hundred years of this method, and it is no wonder that our friends talk of the ever selfish human heart, for their method seems largely ineffective in even bettering the individual. to say nothing about society. The failure of the remedy to abolish social evils ought to suggest to them that there is something lacking in their method, and that possibly by beginning at the other end of the problem they wight create conditions wherein their preaching might be more effective. A man may go to church and listen to a fine discourse on the law of service and be moved to help his fellows, but he goes out into a world of competitive strife and is obliged to take advantage of those he comes in contact with or suffer failure himself.

The fact is, the "ever selfish human heart" is largely due to an ever selfish economic system. Under all forms of industry in the past individuals have been arrayed against each other, but in no system have the antagonisms been more pronounced than in the present order. There is scarcely a field today where selfish interests, begotten by a selfish system, do not dominate. Just so long as it is to man's interest to be dishonest and selfish, we need expect no improvement. There is no use lamenting this condition so long as we retain a false organization of society. We ought not to expect the law of love to be practiced under an environment of the law of strife. Sermons will not extirpate the evils; they are too deep rooted—they inhere in the system itself. We may preach brotherly love, but let us not be so foolish as to expect it to be practiced to any extent under the present order.

Socialism would abolish these evils by removing the cause. Selfishness is only possible when one man can gain at the expense of another. Under Socialism no one could thus gain, for the interests of every man would be identical with the interests of every other man. No one could serve his own interests without serving the interests of others, and conversely, no one could injure the interests of others without injuring himself. The solidarity of humanity so long preached, Socialism would realize. The very first requisite, then, of the ideal state is the establishment of harmony in the industrial realm—the substitution of co-operation for competition.

"But," says our individualist friend, "you cannot make men honest and unselfish by legislation." Very true, we cannot directly, and no one expects to. What we do expect, is to surround men with a suitable environment—one conducive to honesty and unselfishness. We desire to so reconstruct society that if a man is inclined to be honest and unselfish he will not have to be dishonest and selfish in order to succeed. If a man is placed in an infectious district and compelled to remain there he will become sick. What we ought to expect to do by legislation, is not to prohibit his sickness, but to provide for his removal or the removal of the infectious environment. When we have removed by legislation the cause of the disease, the effect will disappear. So when we remove the infectious environment of capitalism its evil results will disappear. As a matter of fact, these evils

can only exist in an economic system of special privilege, where some, by virtue of their ownership of the instruments of production, are enabled to take advantage of their fellows. The source of all tyranny, injustice and exploitation is the economic dependence of the oppressed upon the oppressor. The basis of every kind of servitude, social misery, political dependence, and industrial tyranny is the dependence of men upon the monopolists of the implements of work and the sources of life. Socialism would destroy this economic power by the few, by placing the instrument of production in the hands of society.

We need to recognize that economic conditions give color and shape to social and political institutions, and even affect intellectual and moral tendencies. The Socialist method of abolishing social evils is based upon this scientific fact. It demands betterment of economic conditions. The present condition of all classes of society—whether the poverty and hardship of the poor, the worry and anxiety of the middle class, or the idleness and luxury of the rich—are fatal to a noble life.

An unselfish heart will not save a man from the evils of our perverse economic order. Many a man of ideal character is a victim of our system of grab and greed. And even were all unselfish—a thing impossible under capitalism—the very fact that business must be conducted on the competitive principle would necessitate the existence of these very conditions against which we protest. The evils are social and can only be removed by social readjustment. Socialism proposes to better economic conditions and establish an environment favorable to the development of moral qualities.

The Socialist has faith in human nature. The great majority of men are not bad. Separate them from their economic interest and you will find that they are morally sound. Human history shows that according to the light which men have had they have done grandly well. Socialism would secure to human nature proper soil and environment. It will guarantee men the physical basis of life, give to each the full product of his toil, and secure justice and freedom to all. Until this is accomplished there is no use talking about teaching science, art and literature to the masses. These fields are barred to all who do not possess the requisites—the millions of the over-worked and out of work.

The Socialist, then, presents the only effective method by which to abolish the social evils. And even the end which the church seeks, that of personal righteousness, can only be realized to any extent in such an environment as Socialism proposes. The church should aid in establishing the new order as the first step toward the realization of its ideal. The whole competitive struggle for existence leaves scarcely any margin for the practice of real Christianity. The basis of our industrial system is unjust and unrighteous, its operation unchristian, and its results damnable. The social and industrial evils from which we suffer are inherent in the present system of production, and can only be abolished by the abolition of the system itself.

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LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM*

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

4. What Socialism Would Mean to America



HAVE no intention of claiming that Socialism would mean for America the dawn of the industrial millenium. Political democracy did not bring to the would a perfect political order; no more will Socialism bring to it a perfect industrial order. But what political democracy—the rule of the people—meant to political America, that will Socialism mean to industrial America. Our present industrial life is disturbed and handicapped by five economic evils:

- 1. Trusts or Monopolies.
- 2. Strikes.
- 3. Crises.
- 4. Plutocracy.
- 5. Poverty.

These are the greater evils which are the source not only of our other and lesser industrial problems, but of many of our most grievous social and political troubles. Would Socialism cure any of these?

SOCIALISM WOULD DESTROY MONOPOLY

Generally speaking, trusts and monopolies would not be objectionable to the people if it were not for two things: (1) They will persist in using inventions, improvements in machinery, etc., for the increase of their own profits, instead of for the decrease of prices; and (2) they cannot resist the temptation to interfere with legislation. "Trusts" have the greatest of good in them, in the way of organization of the industrial machinery and economy of production, but they make themselves hated of the people by promoting private ends at the expense of the public good.

How would Socialism keep the good and eradicate the bad from the trust? Simply by putting the people in the place of the present trust magnates. It is well enough known that all of the actual work of controlling the trust machinery and operations is done by the "hired men" of the trust owners. To substitute the people for the trust owner would in no way decrease the efficiency of the trust machinery and operation, but would turn the present enormous profits into the pockets of the people, instead of into the coffers of the few industrial kings. Concentration, economy, production on a large scale—all these are acceptable to the people; they have no grudge against the trust; their objection is against the purpose to which the trust is put. "Let the nation own the trust," and let the people own the nation, and the evil of monopoly has been destroyed and the good left intact.

IT WOULD DO AWAY WITH STRIKES

Nearly all of our strikes may be treated to one of two causes: The necessity of a higher wage, or the demand for a further recognition of the

^{*}This is the fourth of a series of articles by Prof. Persinger of the University of Nebraska giving a concise yet complete exposition of Socialism, of great value to beginners in the study of the movement. The articles already published are, 1—'American Socialism Defined;' 2—'How American Socialism Came to Be;' 3—'The Aims of American Socialism.' The three numbers of The Vanguard containing these articles will be mailed to yearly subscribers for 15 cents. Order at once as the supply is limited.

rights of labor. The first is the cause of "hard-times" strikes and the second is responsible for those occurring during periods of prosperity. Socialism is in itself and by its very nature destructive of both these causes. Its first principle is "the people their own employers;" its basis is the destruction of class interests, and the making of labor and capital one and the same. The laborer, under Socialism, will receive the full product of his labor, minus only the wages of management and his share in the general expenses of government. Strikes, under the Socialistic order, could be declared only by one part of the people against the whole people, and never by the wage-earner against the profit-absorber. Strikes would be as infrequent and unnatural to Socialism as are revolutions and wars to republics.

IT WOULD ABOLISH CRISES

Practically all of our crises have been due to over-speculation, over-production, or extensive crop failures. And how would Socialism be able to remedy these?

It would remove the first of these three causes of crises by removing all possibility of private speculation. It is true some ventures would have to be made by the nation, just as risks are now taken in the development of the postal department, the educational system, etc. But speculation—the deliberate attempt to make one's own gain from the losses of another—would have absolutely no place under Socialism.

Neither would socialized industry ever suffer from extensive over-production. That is such a simple and evident fact as to scarcely need explanation. Instead of a hundred factories all producing the same kind of goods, and so duplicating each other's products and encroaching upon one another's markets, both production and distribution would be organized and regulated, and there would no longer be any occasion for over-production crises. Industry would supply demand, instead of continually attempting to create and force it.

Crop failures at present fall most heavily upon a few farmers, and then spread in widening circles of less evil effects through all other classes—merchants, shippers, manufacturers, and the laborers associated with each. Under Socialism the farmer would be paid for all work faithfully done, whether any crop resulted from it or not. Under such conditions a failure of crops would mean a small loss to every one, but a serious loss to no one, Instead of a series of blows, disabling in turn each branch of industry, there would be a slight lessening of profit all around, and no crisis.

IT WOULD MAKE PLUTOCRACY POWERLESS

There is a double evil in excessive wealth. It injures both those who have it and those who have is not. It makes its possessor tyrannical, and forces those not possessing it to submit to that tyranny. Wealth encourages oppression, and gives its possessor the means of perpetuating the oppression.

This evil Socialism would cure. It would not permit the rich man to purchase the industrial slavery of the poorer one. It would give him no opportunity to loan his money at interest, for there would be no necessity, under Socialism, for any loans. It would not permit the man of wealth to undertake any private enterprise for the sake of private gain. It would not allow him to get possession of mines, oil-wells, or any other possible monopoly, and develop them for his own profit. The only income anyone

would recieve would be that given him by the nation. He may save as much of this as he wishes to and can, but in no other way can he increase his wealth. And this would not only prove no small check upon plutocracy itself, but also remove that great power of oppression which the possessor of great wealth now wields.

IT WOULD PREVENT POVERTY

There would be—in fact, there could be—no such thing as honest poverty under Socialism. The helpless and aged would be provided for on the mutual-protection basis, just as in our present fraternal insurance societies, which are a species of Socialism. The able and industrious would possess incomes beyond any possibility of honest poverty. The family would not be dependent upon the father, for each member of it would possess an independent income. The able but non-industrious would be a species of criminal, subject to the compelling arm of the law. The rich could no longer oppress the poor by turning the needs of the latter to their own profit. Neither could misfortune reduce any man to want. Poverty could not come to any man except as a result of his own deliberate choice.

IN SHORT

Socialism would mean no monopolies, no strikes, no crises, no extremes of wealth and poverty. Yet it would not mean that all must be reduced to the same life—to a common, dull, unambitious grind. What it really means is an organized, efficient, and economical control of industry, a just assignment of labor, and an equitable distribution of wealth. Socialism offers the greatest opportunity for the enjoyment of life, but no opportunity at all as preventing the like enjoyment of others. It would mean all the pleasure in life that can be bought by honest effort, but no pleasure whose price is the suffering of others. And that is what Socialism would mean to America. Lincoln, Neb.

WHY I AM A SOCIALIST

By Rev. GEORGE H. MARSH



AM a Socialist because nothing short of the principles advocated by this party can solve the problems of ever-increasing complexity that tace us and the dangers that threaten us. Passing strange that in a world which was rounded in the palm of a God of equity, love and generosity, there should have grown up an industrial system, "that confiscates for the benefit of a few the land of whole continents; that monopolizes the cotton industry, the coal industry, the iron industry; that snatches the corn he has grown from the hands of the Russian peasant on the Volga in order to send down prices in Mark Lane; that depopulates Italy and is filling its

hospitals with men and women suffering from the effects of hunger; that in the paradise of peasant proprietors, France, has left eighteen millions without a foot of land to call their own; that in the rich, democratic, and educated states of the American Union is repeating these marvels of the old world, laying its dead hand upon millions of acres," getting possession

of all the God-given utilities, even to the subtle electric current, raising up a proletariat from the Atlantic so the Pacific, and, to the eternal shame of our civilization, regulating the pay of the millions who compose the labor world, not according to their wants, but by the law of supply and demand. As long as the present system lasts, pig iron, coal, oil, cattle, menwomen and children will be merely commodities on the world's market..

With the increasing intelligence of the masses, the belief has become universal that the laborers are not receiving the full reward of their labors. The wealth of the Moguls, and the perfumed breezes that bore the voluptuous Cleopatra in a blaze of splendor in her state barge on the Nile, pale before the colossal fortunes and unbounded extravagance of our American millionaires. \$200,000 for a pleasure yacht is a modest sum. A single block of stone in front of a New York mansion costs \$40,000. A race horse sells for \$50,000, and a dog is listed at \$10,000. A Boston millionaire gives \$30,000 for a single carnation plant. Many of the precious stones which formerly belonged to European royalty are now in the diadems of American heiresses. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps says: "The jewelry of our ladies has reached such value that they dare not wear their gems; such priceless. ness is sewn into invisible seams that female fashion on a summer tour is a temptation to a train wrecker." Balls that cost a hundred thousand dollars are common events. Yet think of the average pay of the anthracite miners, and the sickening evidence that was brought to light before the commission. We read of women in our cities who make twelve shirts for seventy cents and supply their own thread, and that "during the winter montus of a recent year, in three judicial districts of New York City over 21,000 men, women and children were evicted because unable to pay their rent; and in the course of the year 23,895 families, or 119,000 persons were put on the streets." In one year in the same city 3,819 persons were too poor to live or die decently, so their bones were rattled over the stones and dumped into the Potter's Field. "It's not the rents I look to," said the undertaker-landlord of a wretched tenement to Octavia Hill: "it's the deaths I get out of the houses." That man of hard facts, the late Professor Huxley, had seen the aborigines of many lands, yet his testimony is: "The surroundings of the savages of New Guinea are more conducive to the leading of a decent human existence than those where the East Londoners live. ' An ever-widening gulf separates the plutocracy from the toiling millions, poverty perishes at the gate of riches, while the crop of millionaires and the standing army of tramps are larger in the United States than in any other country. Tennyson's words are as truly descriptive of American and European conditions today as they ever were:

"Is it well that while we range with science glorying in our time, City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime? There among the gloomy alleys, progress halts on palsied feet, Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousands in the street.

There the master scrimps his haggard seamtress of her daily bread, There a single sordid attic holds the living and the dead; There the smouldering fire of fever creeps across the rotted floor, And the crowded couch of incest in the warrens of the poor."

I am a Socialist for the same reason that General Booth saw the necessity of adding a "social wing" to his great movement so as to make the spiritual work more effectual. If the two factors, heredity and environ-

ment, play such an important part in moulding destiny, then it would seem that the church should study conditions, work for an economic foundation. and then erect a social structure in which "spiritual caste shall be the basis of social rank," Well does Washington Gladden say: "Christianity. by the lips of all its teachers, ought, with all emphasis, to say to society, your present industrial system which fosters those enormous inequalities. which permits a few to heap up most of the gains of this advancing civilization and leaves the many without any substanstial share in them, is an inadequate and inequitable system, and needs important changes to make it the instrument of righteousness." Some will say, Christianize the system. We might as well try to Christianize the caste system of India, polygamy, feudalism or slavery, as our present competitive industrial system. The inequity of the system may be illustrated by the story of ten monkeys who were hunting together. On coming to a stream they see a cocoanut on the other side, but how to get the prize is the problem. Nine of them, however, form a bridge, the tenth monkey goes over, seizes the cocoanut and claims it by divine right. This is the claim of the capitalist. But how did the first monkey get the cocoanut? By walking on the backs of the nine; in other words, he secured the prize by exploiting the labors of the others. Exploitation is the magic wand that has created the colossal fortunes, and turned out of its channel the stream of divine generosity. . .

I am a Socialist because Socialism is in harmony with the ethics of Christianity. It is the logic of Christianity; it is altruistic and humane. It has been terribly slandered and misrepresented by the capitalists and demagogues who have associated it with bombs, dynamite and anarchy. The politician, to catch the vote of the ignorant rabble, couples Socialism with anarchy as though they were identical. Nothing could be farther from the truth: they are opposite as the poles. Socialism no more favors anarchy than Washington's patriotism would favor Benedict Arnold's treachery. Many of the great, the good and wise are its enthusiastic champions. That beautiful woman Frances E. Willard, championed it before she died, and in one of her last addresses said: "Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness, and into the promised land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied."

I am a Socialist because of the lofty ideal embodied in the Socialist platform. I know of no ideal more lofty than the absence of class-interests and the establishment of human brotherhood. Yes, some will say, the ideal is too high; aerial architecture is all right, but where is the ladder by which we reach our mansion in the skies? Every new movement for human welfare has been balked by the incredulity of mossbacks, conservatives and pessimists. Sir Walter Scott, writing to a friend in Scotland, said: "We have a fool here in London who is trying to light the city with smoke." The fool however succeeded in realizing his ideal. The ideal is the basis of the practical. Why sneer at the man who is thinking God's thoughts? Political idealism is the soul of prophecy.

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye can see, Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonders yet to be. When the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe, And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law." Civilization can be no higher than men's ideals. Idealism has moulded the world from savagery to its present civilization. In this age as never before, statesmen, professors, poets, philosophers and a whole army of the rank and file, have before them the vision of a world in which brotherhood shall be a reality, and the millions shall no longer be like Tantalus, surrounded by luxuries they cannot obtain, or mocked and dazzled by the wealth they made but cannot touch. The nations are dreaming of industrial democracy and economic independence. "The dreams that nations dream come true."

I am a Socialist because the science of government is progressive, and civilization is an irresistible movement toward an ultimate triumph. Barbarism, slavery, feudalism, wage system, socialism; these are the logical steps in the upward march of man. As Socialism is an endeavor to realize upon earth the ideal of the ages, I look upon it as the most practicable way solving the social and industrial problems, hastening the inauguration of the Kingdom of God on earth. Toward it all the movements of history point the way. In it all the radiating lines of prophecy meet. The hope of the church is not fulfilled, the victory of redemption is not finished and cannot be until righteousness reigns, and righteousness can never reign until we abolish an industrial system which tolerates and fosters gigantic inequalities and iniquities, "mocking every dictate of ethics and religion, and rendering well-nigh futile the efforts of religion and philanthropy."

I am a Socialist because Socialism is already here. We have a degree of national, state and municipal Socialism in active operation. The army, navy, mail service, police and fire departments, public schools and hospitals—in fact it is said that nearly four hundred enterprises which at one time were private property, have been socialized by different nations, and still there's more to follow. Socialism is here and it is here to stay; and as it is "the result of the centuries, teachings of Christian conceptions of justice and brotherhood," to oppose it is to fight against God. It is not a materialistic movement to the man who sees God in history. It is at bottom an intensely spiritual movement, and it is for the church to decide whether it will itself become materialistic by its indifference or opposition to a movement the ethics of which are identical with the ethics of Christianity. Will the church fall into line?

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POINTED PARAGRAPHS

By J. E. HARRIS

The last toll road leading into Mil- ity of interests, and that every man waukee is to be purchased by Milwau- of us, if he is fit to be a citizen of this alistic press of the state did not call and must also do his best to help his attention to the "danger" of the proposed change. They might have This statement was made by Presicalled attention to the advantages of private ownership in this case. Public ownership of highways is Socialistic but is accepted unhesitatingly. Twenty-five years from now public ownership of railroads will be as much a matter of course as the other is now.

Archbishop Quigley, of Chicago, says, "No man can be a Catholic and a Social Democrat." If you happen to be a Catholic take the last platform of the Socialist party, read it over carefully and see if you can find anything in it that conflicts with your religion.

Prof. Oscar L. Triggs of the University of Chicago predicts the coming of a "new man." He says, "There shall come a new man. The motive of this new being will be so different from that which now animates society that the new man will be entirely different. The business man will wish to share his successes with the rest of society." Prof. Triggs might have put in briefly by saying the coming man will be a Socialist.

Even President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers seems to see Socialism looming up in the near future. He is reported as saying in Chicago, "But I am not one of those who believe that this is the ultimate. There is an evolutionary movement going on which is changing our social conditions and life." Exactly. Trades unionism is a step upward from the individualistic idea in industrial life, and the next upward step is from trades unionism to Socialism.

The Catholic church has started its crusade against Socialism. good will result to the cause therefrom. All Socialism wants is full and free discussion. It has no reason to fear publicity even in the form of opposition.

"Fundamentally, the most important lesson to be learned in our national life is the lesson of our solidar- centive to help others,

kee county. For a wonder the capit- republic, must pull his own weight

dent Roosevelt in his first speach since leaving Washington for the far West. Socialists will heartily agree with him but go further by demanding that society be organized on a basis that will make it possible for men to help their brothers. This cannot be done under the competitive system, which calls for strife. This is shown conclusively by the growth of trusts. These combinations are formed by individuals who have become wise enough to see the waste of struggling against each other for business. They have come together and are working for each other's interests instead of for individual successs. But their cooperation is confined to their own organization and the rest of the public is plundered as much as circumstances permit. What Socialists want is to include the whole people in this trust scheme. Then President Roosevelt's ideal can be realized.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

To this divine precept the individualist says, "Nonsense; human progress is the result of a struggle in which men's energy and wits are developed by the contest to-get ahead of his neighbor. How can a merchant love his rival merchant as himself? To do so would ruin his business and keep him from getting ahead."

But the Socialist says, "Christ's teaching is exactly what we want to see made the basis of all our institu-We want to do away with individualism which pits man against man, and substitute co-operation in which each would work for all and which would make it possible for men to love their neighbors as themselves."

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves break through and steal." Huge fortunes could not be built up under Socialism, and those who were possessed unusual talent would have every in-

THE GOVERNMENT TO BE

Through the clamor and the riot That is heard from sea to sea, I can feel the coming quiet Of the government to be.

Vain the effort to dissemble, For the truth is clear to all. And the old conditions tremble Like a ruin doomed to fall.

Vain the veiling and disguising Of the evils that exist. For new systems are uprising From the wreckage and the mist, And the mills of God are slowly,

Surely grinding out their grist. As the sun first tints the border Of the darkness with his light, So the faint, far gleam of order Gilds the chaos of the night.

And the dawn shall grow in splendor To the fuliness of the day When the hands of greed surrender What from toil they tore away.

For the land to all was given-It belongs to you and me: Let monopoly be driven From the fortress of the free, And let liberty bid welcome To the government to be.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

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It is with deep regret that we chronicle the passing of Hon. Samuel D. Hastings, high-souled, pure-minded, brave hearted social reformer, and Christian gentle-man in the truest sense of the term. He stood with the abolitionists in the early days of the anti-slavery struggle. He stood later with the prohibitionists. a trusted and honored leader of the temperance cause. Though in his eighty-seventh year he remained keenly alive to the movements of today. Devoting his life to human betterment he was ever in the vanguard of reform, and from the first took much interest in THE VANGUARD. In full sympathy with its aims, he frequently expressed cordial approval of our work. One of the last letters he penned in his characteristically clear hand was to the editor concerning the magazine. We feel a personal bereavement in the loss which the world suffers in the removal of this beloved veteran from We cannot beearth's activities. lieve that he is far removed; and we rejoice in the thought that his long and loving service here has but prepared him for even better service in the life beyond.

CORRESPONDENCE REV. DR. HILLIS' MISTAKE

To the Editor:

In one of his Chicago sermons Dr. Hillis is reported to have compared the religion of Christ with the other religions of the world, asserting that the Christian religion was the only one in which love was the central and

all-important idea.

Dr. Hillis ignores the teachings of the Jewish prophets. Rabbi Hillel taught: "Be of the disciples of Aaron, love peace, pursue peace, love all men and invite them to a life of virtue and holiness." In the interview of Christ and the lawyer, the responses of the former to the question "What to do to be saved," Christ directed the lawyer to "keep the law," and said: "How readest thou?" The lawyer read: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, etc., and thy neighbor as thyself." Of this character was Christ's reply to the young man: "Keep the commandments." He also informed the young

man who addressed him as "Good Master," "that only God was good."

St. Augustine in the fourth century declared: "What is called the Christian religion has existed among the arcients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh, from which time the true religion which existed already, began to be called Christian."

It was the dictum of one of the Hebrew prophets that: "A man who foolishly does me wrong I will return to him my ungrudging love—the more evil goes from him, the more good shall go from me." The improved Voltarian dictum is a compact and comprehensive creed—"Love the good God, be good and do good." QUAKER. WALSBON, OHIO.

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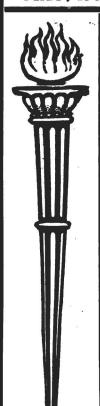


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THE VANGUARD

"Move to the fore! God himself waits and must wait till thou come. Men are God's prophets, though ages lie dumb.
Halts the Christ kingdom, with conquest so near?
Thou art the cause, then, thou man at the rear.
Move to the fore!"

VOL. 1.

GREEN BAY, WIS., MAY, 1903.

NO. 7

EDITORIAL

We publish in this number the splendid message of Rev. E. G. Updike, D. D., of Madison, Wis., delivered before a large audience in the First Congregational church of that city on Sunday, May 3. Dr. Updike is one of the most influential ministers in this state and his utterance will carry much weight. His subject, "Government Commercialized," suggests the climax of capitalism which we have reached and his manly arraignment of the system which is breeding political corruption and thwarting the will of the people is masterly and unanswerable. Whether he be a Socialist or not we do not know but there could be no better statement of the situation from the Socialist point of view. Directly in line with Dr. Lyman Abbott's declaration, quoted in the April VAN-GUARD, and with the Socialist contention, Dr. Updike states the issue which confronts us in the following clear and concise manner:

"We are entering, as a people, upon a great struggle, which will be an irrepressible conflict as surely as was the war which gave

the slave his freedom.

"One party will have great power—the power of corporate wealth. It will be an oligarchy. The other party will be of the people. The oligarchy will proclaim that civilization and all its glories will perish if the reckless masses are permitted to gain control of all the means of wealth.

"The party of the people will go forward to meet the issue, and

it will do it in the name of patriotism.

"It will establish a government of the people and by the people and for the people.

"A commercialized government for a favored few will then be an impossibility.

"Every man must take side in this conflict."

There can be no mistaking the meaning of these paragraphs. O that the pulpit everywhere would ring out with just such unequivocable declarations! The people are ready for it. The time is ripe for it. The welfare of the country demands it. And the very life of the church depends upon whether it will set its face stedfastly against godless money Digitized by GOOSIC

power and stand squarely for the rights of man, or by dallying with duty compromise its position and invite certain dissolution. The church as well as the individual must take side.

"O my God for that free spirit,
Which of old in Boston town,
Smote the Province House with terror,
Struck the crest of Andros down.
For another strong-voiced Adams
In the city streets to cry,
'Up for God and Massachusetts,
Set your feet on Mammon's lie!' "

Opposition to the demands of Socialism from ministers is coming to be regarded as highly inconsistent even in the eyes of laymen who might object to Socialism on personal grounds. This is shown by the following remarkable editorial utterance of the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald of recent date. Referring to criticisms of Socialism by local clergy, (whose statements evidenced deplorable ignorance of the subject) the Telegraph-Herald says:

"Socialism is nothing if it is not a movement to make men spiritually better, and ever mindful of honorable relations with their fellow men. It is nothing if not an appeal for the truly Christian life, such as Christ designed, such as He died for. It is nothing if not a movement for the elimination of sin, for the amelioration of suffering and the establishment of social and business relations on an uncompromising Christian basis. Being all this and more, it is, to say the least, inconsistent in ministers striving for the moral upliftment of human kind to fling darts at it. It is eminently proper for the layman to impeach the practicability of Socialism, but impeachment of its success by the religious is tantamount to a denial by them that the true Christian state is possible in this life, a denial that what Christ strove for can be obtained. We do not expect compromise from the religious and we anticipate that they shall contend that the kingdom of Christ on earth is practicable. Churchmen must put their opposition to Socialism on technical grounds and cannot consistently withhold sympathy from the purposes of Socialism. Thus, attacks which are embittered, which abound in passionate denunciation of Socialists, are in poor grace and we can accord little respect to a statement made recently by a minister, that Socialist literature is unfit to read. It is no more unfit than the Bible and it draws its inspiration from the Bible."

Of course we do not agree with the suggestion that it is "eminently proper" for laymen to object to Socialism on "technical" grounds. The moral law is as binding on the layman as on the minister and the "establishment of social and business relations on an uncompromising Christian basis" is as much the duty of one as the other. But this editorial is remarkable for its admission that Socialism, far from attacking religion, is a demand for the realization of the principles of Christ in the industrial world. And Christian people who oppose the movement would do well to ponder over this statement of the case.

Good morning! How are you enjoying "prosperity?" No doubt you have read about it. It has been in vogue for some time and may last a few years longer. Study its characteristics closely, Now is your opportunity. You may never fully realize that it was here until it has fled. Please do not think we are joking. "Prosperity" is here. So "they" tell us. And we must have "confidence" in the powers that be. "Unparalleled prosperity!" How do you like your share? And have you heard the latest regarding your happy estate? "Prosperity to Stay, Financiers Agree with Morgan that Good Times Will Continue," is the heading of a press despatch in the Chicago Rocord-Herald of May 7. And the Record-Herald poet thus sings of the beauties of the situation of which our financiers take such a "cheerful view":

"They raised his salary two years ago last May, The said increase amounting to 30 cents a day. Since then they've raised the prices

Of carrots and of beets,

Of flour and of meats,

Of corn and coal and fruits,

Of babies' little boots.

Of potatoes, milk and cheese,

Of the product of the bees, Of hats and socks and coats,

Of all that sinks or floats.

He's paying out the money that he saved before his raise But prosperity's upon us, and his heart is full of praise."

These sentiments will, of course, be doubly appreciated by those who have not yet received that raise of "two years ago last May."

But alas for the fond dreams of Morgan & Co., even Senator Hanna is beginning to "see things." He warns the capitalists that "one of the greatest panics the world has ever seen" is looming up on the clear sky of "prosperity," due to the fact that "wages have not kept pace with the great increase in the cost of food," a statement which he says "can easily be proven by consulting any of the tables published by either Bradstreet's or Dun's, and the quicker we recognize this phase of the political question the better it will be for us." Mr. Hanna is certainly to be commended for the frankness with which he addresses his fellow capitalists when he says:

"We are at fault. Everything that Wall street could do to foment trouble it has been guilty of doing. Millions upon millions of securities have been issued and the middle class has been pumped dry.

dry.
"The buying power of the workers has been reduced greatly and we have offered every inducement to the laboring man by our attitude to revolt."

But to this shrewd politican the "main question" is how

to avert disaster to the "party" which he fears from what he calls "the storm clouds gathering on the political horizon." And the spectre he so much dreads he describes as follows:

"I am anything but optimistic on the situation. Workingmen are absorbing quickly the revolutionary spirit which is being inculcated by the Socialists, who are spreading their propaganda broadcast, and it is bearing fruit in the ranks of the workers, and we capitalists had better not close our eyes to these pregnant facts, but on the other hand meet them, and if possible divert their fire into our political parties."

Too late, Mr. Hanna. Considerably too late. It is no longer possible to "stem the tide" or "divert the fire" of an enlightened and aroused people in their demands for economic freedom and industrial democracy. There is nothing more certain than that you cannot continue to use the workers of this country as so many mere voting machines to do the bidding of Wall street and its political agents. Two hundred per cent increase in the Socialist vote since last November ought to convince you that the "revolutionary spirit," has caught on to an extent that means the capture of the powers of government by the people within the next decade. We commend your almost brutal frankness. But the game wont work.

Congressman Littlefield, author of the so-called antitrust bill writes at length in The Independent on "Publicity and the Trust Question" and sums up his conclusions in the sentence, "Publicity is an exceedingly mild but necessary exercise of control." Exceedingly mild, indeed! And of what value? What does the Standard Oil Company, for instance, care though its nefarious methods are well known to the public. It has already had more than a mild publicity and we see no signs of repentance. Our Socialist bard, J. L. McCreery, thus sings in praise of "Publicity:"

Suppose a lamb—outside the fold,
Amid the darkness and the cold,
With wolves that roamed the forest through—
Would he be safe because he knew
How many fangs were in their jaws,
And just the sharpness of their claws;
So if the coal and sugar trust,
And others that I hear discussed,
Were each and all to send me here
An accurate statement every year;
Since I, for everything I use
Would have to pay just what they choose,
I must confess I cannot see
What special benefit to me
Would come from such publicity."

Postal subscription cards, each good for one year's subscription to The Vanguard, may be had at our office in lots of four or more at 25 cents each. Send for a bunch and sell them to your friends. This is a convenient way to secure new subscribers.

Will not Socialism submerge the individual and produce a weaker type of character? No! Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott rightly says: "Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure for every one the most complete development of his powers."

Now the trusts are of the capitalists, by the capitalists, for the capitalists; but under Socialism the trusts will be of the people, by the people, for the people. "Let the nation own the trusts."

"Whom the gods destroy they first make mad"—as President Parry was when he made his address at the recent convention of the Manufacturers' Association.

"The earth hath He given to the children of men," not to a few of the children but to all of them. Socialism will restore to man his natural rights.

THE VANGUARD is in receipt of the report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, issued as Bulletin No. 46 of the Department of Labor, a lengthy and thoroughly disappointing document. We are at a loss to understand how President Roosevelt could have referred to this report in such terms as he used in his address at Sioux Falls when he said: "No government document of recent years marks a more important piece of work better done, and there is none which teaches sounder social morality to our people." After reading the report we are constrained to say that no document could deal with so important a matter and leave it in a more unsatisfactory condition, and none could more completely evade the moral issues involved.

Is it true that the demands of the miners have, for the most part, been approved and the awards hold good for three years; but these would undoubtedly have been conceded by the operators had no commission been appointed. No strike was more certain of success than that of the anthracite miners last year, and in addition to advance in wages they would

likely have gained recognition of their union, which is now denied them. It is also true that the appointment of the commission secured resumption of mining and a supply of fuel for immediate use. But apart from this its appointment appears to have been productive of no good whatever. The great questions raised by the coal strike are left untouched, and so far as the general public is concerned the situation is even worse than it was before. How do you like the price fixed for next winter's coal?

The fact is the anthracite coal trust has a firmer grip on the consumer than ever, and the following criticism of the work of the commission by the Chicago Record-Herald is fully justified:

"The report of the anthracite strike commission is very disappointing in that it leaves the relations between the public and the coal trust unimproved in any particular. The trust is represented as a group of legitimate business interests, whose methods are, generally speaking, above reproach. There is no criticism of its manipulation of prices, no indication that it has tyrannized over its employes, no recognition of its law-breaking propensities as owner and operator of both mines and railroads.

"The trust can certainly regard it with great equanimity because the illegal acts that are charged against it are ignored, its treatment of its employes receives practically no censure. And although the award must increase its expenses it has and is already exercising the power to more than recoup itself for these added costs. The net result is, therefore, decidedly favorable to Mr.

Baer and his associates.

"For aught that this investigation has accomplished the trust remains as impregnable as ever in its attitude toward the people, ard will take the advance in wages out of the people. The question now is, will the representatives of the people permit it to go on undisturbed in its defiance and infraction of the law?"

What, then, is there deserving of the President's commendation in the conclusions of a commission which having before it evidence that the business methods of the coal trust are vicious and criminal makes no comment thereon and no recommendation in the case? What kind of "sound social morality" is taught by passing over the cruel and infamous practices of the operators without a word of censure? There could be no more unsound social morality taught than that of the attitude of a body of men such as composed the commission reviewing the facts placed before them and uttering no vigorous disapproval of the shocking immoralities brought to light.

So far as the work of this commission is concerned, the great moral and legal qestions involved in the coal strike are as far from settlement as ever. They always will remain unsettled until the mines are taken over by the people and run in the interest of the public. Socialism alone will rightly solve this and other similar problems, and not till we get Socialism can we look for industrial peace and equity.

The Need of Change

By James Russell Lowell

The time is ripe, and rotten ripe for change; Then let it come. I have no dread of what Is called for by the instinct of mankind; Nor think I that God's world will fall apart Because we tear a parchment more or less. Truth is eternal, but her effluence, With endless change is fitted to the hour; Her mirror is turned forward to reflect The promise of the future, not the past. He who would win the name of truly great Must understand his own age and the next. And make the present ready to fulfil Its prophecy, and with the future merge, Gently and peacefully, as wave with wave. The future works out great men's purposes: The present is enough for common souls, Who, never looking forward are indeed Mere clay, wherein the footprints of their age Are petrified forever. Better those Who lead the blind old giant by the hand From out the pathless desert where he gropes, And set him onward in his darksome way. I do not fear to follow out the truth, Albeit along the precipice's edge. Let us speak plain: there is more in names Than most men dream of; and a lie may keep Its throne a whole age longer, if it skulk Behind the shield of some fair-sounding name. Let us call tyrants tyrants and maintain That only freedom comes by grace of God, And all that comes not by His grace must fall; For men in earnest have no time to waste In patching fig-leaves for the naked truth.

GOVERNMENT COMMERCIALIZED

By Rev. E. G. UPDIKE, Madison, Wis.



T is a very difficult thing to bring together seventy millions of people and secure perfect unity of action. There is the greatest diversity of character, ideals, opinion and practices. All nationalities are represented. Public opinion is of recent development and is commensurate with democracy. There could be no public opinion until the printing press, but even today there is no proper appreciation of the public rights. In time of war we call a man a traitor who betrays his country, but to betray the public interests in time of peace is the same in principle. We allow the public rights to be trampled upon and totally disregarded. Our patience

is often born of laziness of spirit or rather selfishness. We sit by and see the contest for office go on when the game of politics is being played when the whole thing is lacking in patriotism, and can result only in a betrayal of public interests. There is little resentment when special privileges are asked for special classes.

After the war of the rebellion, the best ability of the country was called to the service of industrial expansion. Great railway lines were constructed. Government aid in some cases was a necessity, but it did not stop with the necessity. Infant industries were protected, some of which still bear the name while they are giants with power that is a menace to the mother that gave them birth. The concentration of capital stands in such relation to government that you can scarcely define what you mean by government except in terms of commerce.

IT IS THE SAME DEVIL

The power at the heart of every despotism of the past was the desire for special privileges for special classes. It was this that our fathers resented in the Revolutionary war. It was at the heart of the slaveholding aristocracy in the south. And today in new form it comes again and demands special legislation for its vested interests.

There is no condemnation for wealth honestly won and honestly used, but when it comes to corrupt legislation and to trample upon the rights of the many in the interests of the few, it is the same devil that was at the heart of Nero and Judas.

The history of political corruption in this country is the history of commercialism seeking to secure special legislation for itself. It makes possible every political boss. Croker and Platt and Quay could not stand an hour if you were to remove the commercialism which sustains them. The puppet in the chair of the Illinois legislature is not the source of corruption; neither is the boss behind him. It is the corporate interests that want special favors, and will do anything to secure them.

The man at the end of the wire, who moves in respectable society and supports church and gives to philanthropy but who uses the boss to do his dirty work, is the real traitor against whom condemnation should fall.

The source of the corruption in St. Louis is not in the boodling aldermen, who have been sent to the penitentiary, but the commercial interests

that want special favors, that have attempted to use these men.

CONDEMNATION WHERE IT BELONGS

Let us go to the root of the matter. Let us pronounce condemnation where it belongs. There is no more vital principle than this, that government is for all the people and not a favored few.

The members of our own legislature who heard in last week's discussion the protest of the shippers and not the indignation of a mighty people, are short sighted. The people of this country, when they come to their senses, will never consent to have the railroads, which are common carriers, run in the interests of a special class.

The power to build up one man and destroy another, to build up one community at the expense of another, is as vicious at heart as taxation without representation which so stirred the souls of our fathers. It has made possible the Standard Oil company, with its iniquitous millions. It has made possible all the abuse in the coal fields, where a whole nation is plundered in the interests of an oligarchy.

GREAT ISSUE THAT MUST BE FACED

We are entering, as a people, upon a great struggle, which will be an irrepressible conflict as surely as was the war which gave the slave his freedom. For a time, perhaps, both parties will refuse to face the great issue. We shall have a repetition of the attitude of the Whig and Democratic parties before the civil war. But the time will come when the issue will be clearly defined. One party will stand as did the old Democratic party in the slavery days, for the notion that vested rights, property contracts, obligations, even legal technicalities are more sacred than human life. The other party will stand for the principle that property and other legal rights were created for man, and that he must not be the slave of his own institutions.

One party will have great power—the power of corporate wealth. It will be an oligarchy. The other party will be the people. The oligarchy will proclaim that civilization and all its glories will perish if the reckless masses are permitted to gain control of all the means of wealth.

The party of the people will go forward to meet the issue, and it will do it in the name of patriotism.

It will establish a government of the people and by the people and for the people.

A commercialized government for a favored few will then be an impossibility.

Every man must take side in this conflct. There is required as great statesmanship today as in any past crisis in our history. As much courage, wisdom, common sense, civic grit and true patriotism are need now as when our flag was dishonored by the rebel guns at Ft. Sumter.

The great question of the future is money against legislation. My friends, you and I shall be in our graves long before that battle is ended; and unless our children have more patience and courage than saved this country from slavery, republican institutions will go down before moneyed corporations. Rich men die, but banks are immortal, and railroad corporations never have any disease. In the long run, with legislatures they are sure to win.—Wendell Phillips.

THE VOICES OF THE PEOPLE

By ELLA WHEELER WILCOX

Oh, I hear the people calling through the day time and the night time. They are calling, they are crying for the coming of the right time. It behooves you, men and masters, it behooves you to be heeding, For there lurks a note of menace underneath their plaintive pleading.

Let the land usurpers listen, let the greedy-hearted ponder, On the meaning of the murmur, rising here and swelling yonder, Swelling louder, waxing stronger, like a storm-fed stream that courses Through the valleys, down abysses, growing, gaining with new forces.

Day by day the river widens, that river of opinion,
And its torrent beats and plunges at the base of greed's dominion;
Though you dam it by oppression and fling golden bridges o'er it,
Yet the day and hour advances when in fright you'll flee before it.
Yes, I hear the people calling, through the night time and the day time.

Wretched toilers in life's autumn, weary young ones in life's May time; They are crying, they are calling for their share of work and pleasure, You are heaping high your coffers, while you give them scanty measure, You have stolen God's wide acres, just to glut your swollen purses—Oh, restore them to His children ere their pleadings turn to curses.

THE NEW PATRIOTISM

By SAMUEL M. JONES, Mayor of Toledo

Before one can be patriotic, he must understand that patriotism means something more than red fire, bunting, Fourth of July orations, fire crackers, white squadrons and big standing armies; that when the real patriotism—the love of our fellows—is more fully developed, these fraudulent representations will have disappeared from our society and be no longer known except as relics of the developmental period. The best definition that I know of patriotism was given us by Lammenais; here it is: "I love my family more than my self, my village more than my family, my country more than my village and mankind more than my country." There is a definition of patriotism that will last

"Till the sun grows cold,
And the stars are old
And the leaves of the judgment book unfold."

Patriotism means love of the whole, and the new patriotism will not be limited by boundary lines of states or nations, but will include the whole human family. It will not be satisfied nor content until a social and political order of love and justice shall have been inaugurated that will grant to every baby born equal opportunities with every other baby to live the best and noblest kind of a life that it possibly can live. The new patriotism will help us to see that we are patriots only when each individual finds his or her greatest pleasure in making the individual life a contribution to the building up of the whole common life. The new patriotism will lead us to

understand that patriotism and partyism cannot abide together; that if one is a patriot, he cannot be a partisan; that an idle life cannot be a patriotic life; that a man or woman who lives an idle life, who does nothing to build up the community life, who makes no contribution to the good of the nation, is not a patriot. Just as each key of a piano or great organ is necessary to make the complete whole, so in the new patriotism we shall see that each individual soul must be in its place, fulfilling its mission to bring about the harmoniously organized society that is yet to be developed under our government,

TOLEDO, O.

SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY

By J. E. HARRIS



OCIALISM shows to the disciple of Jesus the way in which the ideals of the Nazarene may be followed and ultimately fulfilled. It points Christianity to what is necessary to make possible that unfolding of the kingdom of God to which all Christians look forward. Socialism applies to material things, the spiritual truths taught by Jesus and says to the man of talent, your genius, your inventive ability, your power in every direction are given you by God not for your own advancement alone, not to enable you to secure your own selfish desires, but for the good of all mankind. You will not follow Jesus' teaching, will not attain the divine purpose

for which you are intended until you devote your life to the betterment of all instead of your own welfare.

In the New Testament is given a story of the temptation of Christ, in which it is said that Satan took Jesus up on a high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. All these were promised to Jesus if he would fall down and worship Satan.

Jesus, we are told, "was in all points tempted like as we." This was, therefore, a real temptation. It appealed to him with all the force that temptation to gain wealth, to gain material power, to control men, appeals to man today.

We can understand from this story of the temptation of Jesus that at this time in his life, just at the beginning of his earthly ministry, he saw clearly before him two possibilities. He realized that all the power latent within himself might be devoted to personal ends, to the aggrandizement of self. He saw the Jews eagerly waiting for the Messiah, a place to which he would be welcomed if he would consent to ignore the errors of the priests, to accept religious ideas as they had been. For him to have yielded to this placing of self-interest as supreme aim in life, would have been to yield to the temptation, and it will hardly be questioned that the result would have been as promised by the tempter.

But the result of the opposite course was equally plain to him. He saw the value to the world of a few short years spent in making known to others the precious gifts of truth and righteousness with which he felt himself inspired. He saw the need of the world, not so much for knowl-

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edge of these things, as for some one who would devote his life to living them out as a practical, shining example that would stand as a pattern for all time—nay, for one who could even give up his life and all its beautiful possibilities, that truth be established.

And, seeing both paths, Jesus gave up all chance for personal advantage and devoted his life to others.

Does not every person meet just such a temptation as Jesus met, differing only in degree as the ability of the individual is greater or less? Are not men of genius called upon to decide the same question that Jesus decided on the mountain? They have the choice of using their God-given powers for their personal advantage, or for the benefit of their fellow men. Their lives are the answer to this temptation.

This unselfishness, this living for others rather than for oneself, is the supreme test of Christianity, just as the temptation referred to was the final test by Satan of Jesus' moral strength. Whatever helps towards that life is Christian; whatever discourages it is opposed to Christianity.

That our present social and industrial system tends to encourage selfishness no one will deny. Under existing conditions life is a struggle for existence in which unselfishness or even honesty is almost a hopeless handicap. We demand competition, yet Jesus taught co-operation. The strong should assist the weak, not prey upon them.

Socialism supplements and aids Christianity by offering a plan of government in which each would work for the benefit of all. Socialism applies to industrial and political conditions the central truth of Jesus' teaching—service to others.

GREEN BAY, WIS.

A SOCIALIST PARABLE

By HERBERT N. CASSON



NCE upon a time there was a village in a beautiful valley. It was entirely surrounded by steep and lofty mountains, which sheltered it from the storms of winter and the heat of summer.

The soil of the valley was very fertile, and all manner of grains and fruits grew in abundance. Although there were frequent droughts in the country round about the valley, it never lacked for water, even in the hottest of the summer months.

A never-failing stream, sparkling like molten glass, flowed merrily down from the highest mountain, ran in a

sportive, zig-zag way through the valley, and passed into a wide cavern at the further end of it.

This stream was the special pride of all the villagers. They shielded it from all pollution, built fancy oridges over it, planted bright flowers along its banks. They believed it to be a gift from the gods, as they had an old tradition to that effect; and they would not allow any one to set foot upon the sacred mountain from which it came.

The villagers were all very happy and prosperous. Every one was free to drink of the stream, and to nourish his garden with it, for it belonged alike to all, and no one had a right to say of it, "This is my stream, and not yours."

Every villager possessed his own house, and not his neighbor's, and the land of the valley was equally divided among them. There was no man who did not his share of labor, and no one who was burdened with overmuch work.

Every morning they were awakened by the singing of the birds, and every evening the men and women sang songs together, and taught the little children to dance and to play on the musical instruments.

But in the course of time one of the villagers, who was deformed in his mind, became a Financier, and wickedly determined to obtain grain and fruit without doing his share of the work.

To accomplish this infamous purpose, he climbed the sacred mountain, discovered the cleft in the rock from whence the stream issued, and stopped it up with rocks and logs. Then he descended unpreceived to the valley, and joined the alarmed villages, who had discovered the stoppage of the waters.

According to their tradition, they believed that the stream came from the gods, and therefore they brought many sacrifices, and offered them upon altars at the foot of the holy mountain, but of course no water descended

They chanted hymns and repeated prayers and fasted every third day, but their thirst increased more and more.

At last the Financier spoke to the others and said: "If ye will give me one hundred bushels of grain I will even risk my life for ye all. I will climb the mountain and intercede with the gods, and persuade them to send us the stream again."

And the villagers accepted his offer with great rejoicing, and in the evening, when it became dark, he ascendeded the mountain, rolled away the rocks and logs, and let the stream flow once more to the valley.

When the Financier returned, the happy people greeted him with great joy, and carried him on their shoulders to his home; for they said in their simplicity, "It is he that hath saved us from thirst and famine and death."

And the Financier, when he saw how easily the people were deceived, said to himselt, "This whole valley shall be my garden, and all these people shall be my slaves."

And becoming more aud more greedy of gain, he began to stop the stream up twice a week.

So in a short time he became the possessor, not only of all the grain and fruit, but also of the land and the houses, the furniture and even the musical instruments.

And until the very last house was taken, most of the people believed in the Financier, and carried him on their shoulders when he returned from the mountain. They spake loudly of his patriotism and philanthropy, for whenever he received from them one hundred bushels of grain, he always restored them one bushel to feed the poor. He likewise gave many bushels of grain to the clergy, and to the schoolmasters, and the men who wrote the chronicles of the village.

And the few who suspected the Financier to be a rogue, were afraid to speak their thoughts among the others, for fear he should drive them from the valley.

But as the unhappy villagers became poorer and more destitute and miserable, they began to think upon their former prosperity, and wonder why they should be starving in the midst of plenty, and why they should have to pay so much grain and fruit to the Financier. And a few of the more intelligent ones began to inquire, saying, "Why can we not go up the mountain ourselves, and cause the water to flow?"

But this seemed a terrible and dangerous saying to the simple-minded people, for they had never thought of it before.

The clergy said it was blasphemy, and the schoolmasters said it was ignorance, and the chroniclers said it was anarchism; and so for a long time the people remained in poverty, and many of their little children died for lack of food.

But at last several of them even dared to climb the mountain one day when the stream was dry, and they discovered the rocks and logs with which the Financier had stopped the waters, and they removed them and set a guard upon the spring.

And when all the people heard of it, they laid hands on the Financier, and said to him, "Why did ye do this thing?" And he said it is the Law of Business." And he besought them to have confidence in him.

But they said, "We cannot have confidence in a lie;" and they took back their grain and their fruit and their land and their houses and furniture and musical instruments, and restored unto every man what was his own, so that they were once more prosperous and joyful.

And after much reasoning together, they set free the Financier, and allowed him to live in the cavern at the end of the valley, and gave him a herd of swine to watch, so that he might be useful to the people.

And though at first he made a great outcry, when he afterward considered what the thing was which he had done, he was very thankful that the villagers had not taken his life.

New YORK CITY.

Thoughts for Thinkers

Prejudices are to be destroyed, not tolerated. - Winwood Reade.

Oh, the ignominy of being a popular preacher. - F. W. Robertson.

What is morally wrong can never be made politically right.—Burke.

My lad, if thee would be truly successful, ally thyself in youth with some righteous, unpopular cause.— $John\ G.\ Whittier.$

Whilst another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

No Christian who knows the gospel can possibly believe it warrants him in living uselessly by the sweat of another's brow.—Goldwin Smith.

Every noble work seems at first impossible. - Carlyle.

All truth is safe and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency is either a coward or a criminal, or both.—Max Muller.

LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM*

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

5. THE METHODS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM



OW will Socialisn be brought to pass in America? By what methods will the control of our industrial life be transferred from the hands of the present industrial kings to those of the people? This is no easy question to answer. Who has ever successfully foretold the ways of democracy's coming? Who can now accurately predict them? The future has ever outrun and made ridiculous the blind prophecies of its most able devotees. Who rightly prophesied the methods by which political democracy came to America in 1776? or to France in 1789? or to England in 1832? Yet the fact that democracy has twice, first in religious and later in political phase, made

its way into world life, renders a little more hopeful the task of the wouldbe prophet of the present. And so, without in any way wishing to seem to take upon myself the name or guise of seer, I shall risk a few conjectures on the methods of Socialism's coming.

THE PAST HAS SHOWN TWO METHODS

The methods of past democratic progress have been two: the short, sharp, revolutionary transition from the old order to the new, of which the American and French revolutions are types; and the more gradual political change, almost a pure evolution, such as took place in England in the '30's. Of these two methods, the former has been far more numerously used than the latter. The more peaceable method is now being tried in New Zealand. My reading of the contradictory reports from that country leads me to question its success. It has so far been a process of compromise; and such crucial movements of democracy have never yet succeeded through compromise alone. They have so varied from the old that they could not be builded upon the old foundations, and must needs have new ones.

THE PRESENT POINTS TO REVOLUTION AND CONFISCATION

As late as two years ago I still hoped to see American industry popularized by the mere evolutionary process—the peaceable growth of municipal and state ownership, until the people finally stood possessed of all public resources and enterprises. But I cannot longer hold to that opinion. The conviction has been growing upon me that the process of Socialism will be revolutionary, and its method will be confiscation. My reasons for so believing are these:

REQUIRED TO BREAK THE BOND OF PRECEDENT

First, the fact that the present private-property system is so deeply rooted in our prejudices that it will require the sudden shock of revolution

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^{*}This is the fifth of a series of articles by Prof. Persinger of the University of Nebraska giving a concise yet complete exposition of Socialism, of great value to beginners in the study of the movement. The articles already published are, 1—"American Socialism Defined;" 2—"How American Socialism Came to Be;" 3—"The Aims of American Socialism;" 4—"What Socialism Would Mean to America." The four numbers of The Vanguard containing these articles will be mailed to new yearly subscribers for 20 cents. Order at once as the supply is limited.

to break within any reasonable length of time the firmly-rivited bonds of precedent. Only thus did the world wrench itself away from the fixity of its past in religious and political life, and succeed in establishing therein the dominion of the popular will.

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY WILL PRODUCE IT

Second, because we are just now in the stage of "benevolent despotism;" so great is our wealth and so insignificant as yet is the competition between the great wealth-getters, that competition has not yet forced to the surface the harsher character of our new-found kings. But shortly there is already evidence of its coming-these great "captains of industry" will be coming into a life and death competition with each other; and their struggle for supremacy will force them to forget their benevolent habits of today, and gradually resort to all the grinding cruelties of the old-time "competition." To this step they will be hastened by the rival efforts of another trust, now rising with great rapidity into a position of influence and power—the labor trust. Of the two kinds of trusts, I naturally take the side of the labor one; yet believe it will in due time show all the characteristics of the older trusts, and seek only its own advantage, to the exclusion of the interests of all those outside its own membership. Crushed between these two great trusts of capital and labor, there is no refuge for the people except in the creation of a third and larger corporation—the industrial people of America—and the confiscation of the properties of the two older ones.

THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES INDICATE IT

As surely as colonial opposition to the stamp act foretold the American Revolution, or the demand for the states general the French Revolution, or the mobs, pamphlets, and political turmoil of the '30's the English revotion—so certainly do the signs of today seem to point to the coming of industrial democracy. It may come by the gentle arts of peace, or by the rough hands of brutal force; but coming it surely is. The constantly increasing strife between capital and labor; the growing impatience of the people with the attempted diction of both of these; the increasing conversion of private into public industries; the growing demand for national control of great public interests now in private hands; the respectful consideration and rapid increase of Socialistic propaganda—all these foretell the doom of industrial monarchy and the drawing near of industrial democracy.

OUT OF CONFUSION, PROGRESS.

But even if the process of change prove a violent one, there is need of no great alarm or apprehension. Such has chiefly been the record of democracy. When the great democratic upheaval was under way in England, "Men heard with horror," writes Richard Green, the historian, "that the foundations of faith and morality were questioned, polygamy advocated, oaths denounced as unlawful, community of goods raised into a sacred obligation, the very Godhead of the Founder of Christianity denied." Yet out of this confusion of good and evil came at length the acceptable truth; men rejected the evil and retained the good; those who foretold ruin beheld progress. The story is old; so old I almost apologize for its further repetition. Yet it is one whose telling is again under way; one whose "moral" future historians will draw for the profit of their readers in the days to come, as we now draw ours from the past for the present.

AND THE PEOPLE WILL ENDORSE IT

But the "how" is not as important as the fact that it is coming. I do not seek to urge the acceptance of Socialism. When it comes, the majority will accpt it in due time, because the American, whatever his temporary vacillations, is predominantly democratic—he believes in the capacity of the people for self-government; and that, applied to the trust, the monopoly, the corporation, the public service generally—that is Socialism pure and simple. Such a Socialism will make him a voting partner in that greatest of trusts, that best of monopolies, the industrial people. Instead of an employee, he will become a member of the great firm, sharing proportionately in its labor and its profits, and bearing upon his shoulders his own fair portion of its burden. Socialism is the government of the industrial world by the people instead of by kings; and one who is a believer in popular self-government must, sooner or later, endorse it, and approve its coming through whatever methods it may find necessary.

REVELATION IN PROGRESS

By Rev. WALTER B. VASSAR

It is doubtful if the belief in a revelation that was at one time in the world's history made complete and adequate, could have obtained, if it had not been for the lack of sufficient knowledge as to what revelation really was, and also of meagre information concerning many other matters. This is certainly true in all other branches of knowledge. The advances in the physical sciences are relegating very fast, all immature thought to the world's rubbish heap. And in the plan of God—we believe it is His plan notwithstanding man's pugnacious ignorance—the flood-light of knowledge which the dawn of the twentieth century sees, helps greatly in dispelling ignorance surrounding the science of the skies.

Perception is synonymous with revelation. In this sense of it revelation is only limited by capacity. Spiritual capacity, if a man has it in exercise, will bring all the rewards of faith. Jesus came to us with an infinite revelation, but he has given it to the world by piece-meal. How other could he have done? As one has expressed it: "A beam of divine light has been given us in what we call the word of God; but only by another beam cast on your own soul can you distinguish it."

Circumscribed notions of a book revelation have come near sidetracking the church of Christ; serving well for the kindergarten stage of growth, yet carried too far they cause the wreck of faith, for they carry grown men in the wrong lead. Looking for a completed spiritual code, the spiritual perceptions have to grow all in spite of false notions, and have a distorted bias.

What some one has called the "divine reticence," must be understood in the light of human incapacity. A complete revelation waits for the coming of complete men. The complete man, our Master talked about it; but found himself narrowed in his activity and teaching by the obtuse perceptions of his hearers. Of all men for whom Jesus had little patience the dogmatist came in for the largest reproach. He could chide disciples for their little faith, (apprehension.) The others—pig-headed churchmen—he handled without gloves.

HAMILTON, N. Y.

LITERARY NOTES



SUGGEST SUGGESTION

A N D OSTEOPATHY" is the striking title of a book by W. I. Gordon, M. D., D. O., of Cleveland, O. It is well bound in cloth, 314 pages, printed on good paper, and contains a variety of interesting and useful matter. The law of sug-

gestion is well stated and its value in the treatment of bad habits and the cure of disease is clearly demonstrat-The author is evidently a levelheaded and progressive physician. Free from the insanities of much socalled mental "science," he is yet a fearless investigator and willing to make use of suggestive therapeutics in his practice. One part of the work, of special interest to us, deals with the relation between the law of suggestion and the social problem. To this section articles are contributed by Rev. Morgan Wood, Eugene V. Debs, Max Hayes and others on social conditions. Dr. Wood writes: "Under no conditions at present is it possible for the masses to obtain justice. The independence and honor of the individual citizen and the freedom of the masses is tampered with by the political chicanery, collective robbery and defiled justice in all communities and large cities." This strong assertion Mr. Wood backs up as follows: "We are warranted in making this statement, based upon the opinion of eminent lawyers of this city and elsewhere, that it is almost impossible to obtain justice in a justice court. And practically this is the only court that the masses can apply to for justice."

We are glad to note that Dr. Gordon, himself, is an avowed and active Socialist and is devoting considerable time and money to the cause. We

commend his book to our readers and will supply it at published price, \$1.50, postpaid.

There is no abler exponent of Socialism than Rev. Carl D. Thompson, formerly Congregational pastor at Elgin, Ill. Everywhere Comrade Thompson goes he accomplishes splendid things for the cause. And now he has issued a pamphlet, "The Principles and Program of Socialism," giving in a remarkably clear, concise and satisfactory form the facts and arguments on which the Socialist demand is based. 'There is nothing better published for removing prejudices and skeptical." "convincing the most Price 10 cents, at this office.

"Economic Discontent and Its Remedy," is the title of a booklet of 47 pages by Rev. Father T. J. Hagerty, issued by the Standard Pub. Co., Terre Haute, Ind. The discontent is evident and is growing. The remedy is Socialism, and this the scholarly and brilliant priest urges in keen and persuasive fashion. The absurd notion entertained by some people that Socialism is a "fad" or a delusion which finds a place only in the minds of the so-called "unthinking masses," would be speedily exploded if said people would read this pamphlet. But the awakening is coming rapidly. And father Hagerty is furnishing just the kind of amunition needed for the "battle of the ballots." 10 cents. at this office.

In the May number of Wilshire's Magazine (\$1.00 a year) the editor writes up, in a breezily entertaining style, an interview he had with John D. Rockefeller at a California resort where both happened to be staying last month. There is a brilliant arraignment of The Great Families of England from the pen of the English economist and writer, H. M. Hyndman, who is easily master of his subject. Shall We Be Free? is the title

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of an eloquent and stirring appeal to the higher human sentiments, by Wm. Thurston Brown. Who are Liberal Thinkers? by Eugene Del Mar, is infused with the spirit of the newer philosophy of life which looks upon man as "the master of his fate, the captain of his soul." There is the usual interesting Wilshirean comment on passing events. The editorial on De Witte's Wisdom treats of the policy of the able Russian Minister of Finance, looking towards the agrandizement of the Russian Empire. We will send Wilshire's and THE VAN-GUARD both one year for \$1.00.

The two well known publications, The American Kitchen Magazine and Motherhood. have been combined and are now published under the title, Home Science Magazine for House-keepers and Mothers. This is one of the really few commendable periodicals of its class. We cannot speak too highly of its many valuable departments. It treats of all matters relating to the home in a thoroughly practical and sensible manner. Send 10 cents for a copy to Home Science Pub. Co., 28 Oliver St., Boston, Mass.

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POINTED PARAGRAPHS

These are days of political unrest and Socialists should take advantage of every possible opportunity to spread the doctrines of industrial democracy. Spread Socialistic literature and talk it whenever you can. The old parties are not satisfying the people and when they understand Socialism they will flock to it.

The Milwaukee Daily News in discussing railroad legislation in Wisconsin says the only remedy for existing evils is government ownership of the railways. And the Chicago Record-Herald says it regrets that there seems to be no way of bringing the railroads of the country under direct control by the national government.

Andrew Carneige, who recently returned to England is quoted as saying upon his arrival there, "You can say for me that I am thoroughly in favor of Keir Hardie's suggestion that all railways should be nationalized. It would be an excellent thing for the people if that were done." Why not include the iron and steel works too, Mr. Carnegie?

President Baer is an advocate of collectivism but he limits its application to a circle that is altogether too During the inquiry into the coal combine he stated that there was "money enough for all" in the coal business. The dealers made no effort to undersell each other. This is a correct sentiment but how much better it would be if applied to the whole people. Mr. Baer is right. There is money enough, clothes enough, comforts, even luxuries enough for us all, if it were not for the Baers, the Rockefellers, the Morgans and such, who assume that they have a right to a greater share than others.

Emperor William will attempt to head off the hated Socialists by starting a labor paper. The Kaiser himself will edit the sheet, which will be anti-Socialist but impartial (?). Evidently William the impetuous has discovered that Socialism is a more formidable antagonist than he at first imagined.

Every little while some one who doesn't know any better attacks Socialists as a lot of "beer guzzlers." The following recent utterance of Herr Stoermer of Hamburg, a social democrat shows the attitude of leading European Socialists on this point: "Excessive drinking among the masses in general, and among workers in particular, is the most serious bar to the emancipation of the lower classes. It undermines the mental capacities and energies of those who would othwise be capable of attaining efficiency and culture. While it continues, the aims of social democracy—the destruction of social barriers, and the equalization of the burdens and joys of civilization-will not advance an inch. Hence we seek to free workmen from the fatal drawback of alcoholism, and prepare them both in body and mind for the stress of life." Socialism offers the only solution of the liquor problem.

The state of Georgia owns a railroad which it leases to an operating company for \$420,000 a year. Half the income from this railroad goes to the public school fund.

There are only nine countries in the world in which the government neither owns nor controls a mile of the railroads of the land. These nine are: China, Persia, Mexico, Greece, Spain, Canada, England and the United States. The latter three countries do not appear in very good company in this particular respect.

Father Sherman in attacking Socialism draws a sarcastic picture of Uncle Sam as a maker of hairpins and baby ribbon. Well, why not. Uncle Sam runs several arsenals for the purpose of making machines for people to commit murder with; he has turned out some of the biggest and best cannons ever made; he conducts the biggest printing office in the country; he manages several industrial establishments and does it creditably, so why not others? Father Sherman must find something besides abuse and sarcasm with which to attack Socialism if he would make even the slightest impresssion. J. E. H. Digitized by GOOGIC

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THE THREE WORLD-SEASONS

By Herbert N. Casson

The winter season of the world has gone,

Those arctic ages when the frozen

Let no gray atom melt and flow to thought:

When every hidden root lay cold and dark.

Unconscious of its life, beneath the snow;

When every seed, with summer instincts, slept

And shuddered in its sleep, and dreamed of leaves;

When every throb of life was sternly checked.

By chill Repression, procuress to Death.

The springtime season of the world is here.

Heroic days of strife and turbulence. When blows the March wind in rebellious glee.

They who love peace must seek a younger star;

Here all things clash, and break and change and grow;

The snowdrifts melt into one common stream.

Until the swift flood hurls the ice ashore.

The glacier slips and floats to warmer seas;

The white grass struggles underneath the stone.

The summer season of the world shall come,

That final age of verdure, bloom, and fruit,

Of which the river lisped and robins sang;

When every acorn bursts into the oak Of its ideal, and clasps the genial soil; When every seed beneath the kindly sun

Unfolds the fulness of its inner self; When winter's frost and springtime's broil are past.

And all the purpose of the year made plain.



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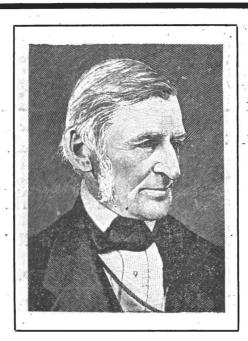
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ANNOUNCEMENT

This is the June-July number of THE VAN-GUARD. The next issue will be the August-September number. As announced in the publisher's column, ten issues constitute our year of publication. Between this and next issue we shall make plans for improving and strengthening our magazine in several directions. Already we have arranged for some special contributions from able writers on the three important movements for which THE VANGUARD stands, and we can promise our readers a feast of good things from month to month during the year.

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VOL. 1.

GREEN BAY, WIS., JUNE, 1903.

NO. 8

EDITORIAL

The most significant and encouraging feature of the centenary celebration of Ralph Waldo Emerson is the extent to which various organizations and schools of thought unite in honoring the Sage of Concord. It is but three-quarters of a century since Emerson began to preach the gospel of the New World and was, like the Man of Galilee, denounced as an "infidel." Already he takes his place with the world's great teachers of pure religion. Truly, we are making progress. It is not only to the honor of Emerson but to the credit of the race that he is now recognized as possessed of the same spirit which inspired Moses and Isaiah and Jesus and Paul and all the noblest sons of God who have trod this earth.

The value of Emerson's contribution to religious thought can hardly be over-estimated. Here is the heart of his message, the affirmation of the truth perceived by his own soul, the burden of his own vision of God.

"O, my brothers, God exists. There is a soul at the centre of nature and over the will of every man.

"Men have come to speak of revelation as somewhat long ago given and done, as if God were dead.

"The assumption that the age of revelation is past, that the Bible is closed; the fear of degrading the character of Jesus by representing him as a man, indicate the falseness of our theology.

"It is the office of the true teacher of religion to show us that God is, not was: that he speaketh, not spake.

"What hinders that now, everywhere, in pulpits, in lecture rooms, in houses or fields, wherever the invitation of men or your own occasions lead you, you speak the very truth, as your life and conscience teach it, and cheer the waiting, fainting hearts of men with new hope and new revelation?"

These are not the utterances of an "infidel," but of a true prophet of the Most High, remarkable for their anticipation of what we are coming to regard as the essential and permanent element in Christianity as a revelation of the Divine. When Emerson thus spoke, his words were considered iconoclastic and met with stern protest. Today they represent the

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thought of a rapidly enlarging constituency in all branches of the Christian church; and the gospel of Emerson is being recognized as identical with the gospel of Jesus, the gospel of the ever-living, ever-present, ever-speaking God. "There is," says F, W. Gunsaulus, "no other such echo of Jesus in this new century as that which comes through him."

To state this aspect of Emerson's message in a word, we might say that he proclaims the high privilege and the absolute necessity of seeing and hearing and knowing God at first

hand.

"Everywhere I am hindered of meeting God in my brother because he has shut his own temple doors and recites fables merely of his brother's or his brother's brother s God.

"Our quoting of scripture seems to deny the omniprescence, the eternity of God. Once he spake through good men these special words. Now if we have ought high and holy to do, we must wrench somehow their words to speak it in. Humbly let us rather go and ask God's leave to use the hour and language that now is."

When Emerson said these things Palestine alone was looked upon as the holy land, the literature of the Hebrews alone as the word of God; and we must search the records of the past, we must open the sepulchres of the east, we must unearth long-buried monuments, we must decipher strange documents and examine the obscurest texts of ancient scriptures if perchance we may ascertain in the will of the Almighty. Such an attitude is one of unbelief, not of faith, declared Emerson: "If any man claims to speak and know all God and carries you backward to the phraseology of some old moldered nation in another country, in another world, believe him not." And we have come to say the same thing. We have come to say, and it is high time, that America is holy ground, that "earth's crammed with heaven, and every common bush afire with God," that "he speaketh in every faithful human spirit," that his voice is as audible now as in any past age, that the Bible is still being written, that "revelation is not sealed," that inspiration is forever operative. We have come to say that the view of the Bible which assumes inspiration to have come to an end with the twelve apostles is in effect a denial of the deeper truth of the scriptures and the promises which point ever forward to larger, not lesser, munifestations of the Spirit of Truth. We have come to a view of God which removes the limitations which traditional theology put upon revelation. The doctrine of the Divine Immanence has replaced that of "an absentee God," and belief in continuous creation has replaced the legend of a six-days production. And to Emerson more than to any other we are indebted for our transition from the old to the new

with gain instead of loss to faith. Years before the facts of evolution and Higher Criticism had been fully set forth, he anticipated their results by an interpretation of religion in accord with modern knowledge. And thousands of souls, confused by the discrediting of dogmas which they had been taught were essential to religion, have found in Emerson's direct satisfying vision of the Infinite that which gave them hope and courage to press on through their doubts and "find a stronger faith their own."

3

The New Thought movement of our time owes much to Emerson. He was a Mental Scientist who possessed mental balance. Matthew Arnold said: "I loved Emerson because he never lost his sanity," and Carlyle spoke of him as "the cleanest intellect in the planet." We are not surprised, therefore, that "Mother" Mary Baker Glover Patterson Eddy, the "discoverer and founder," of Christian Science, should in a recent epistle to her children vigorously resent the assertion of a magazine writer that her "philosophy" is based on the teachings of Emerson. But the disclaimer is quite unnecessary. No thoughtful person would make such a ridiculous suggestion, There is little in common between Emerson's Essays and "Science and Health." As well compare Shakespeare's plays with a dime burlesque. Frank rightly says: "This just and emphasic criticism of Christian Science may be made that it employs a scientific law as a religious superstition, and thus befogs the minds of the simple, while it fills the temples of worship with a meaningless jargon whose very verbosity defies the gods."

There is, however, much in common between Emerson's idealism, and what is truest and best in the New Thought movement. The truth on which he insisted, that man is spirit and that the true life is spiritual rather than material, is the truth that lies at the heart of the New Thought, and which is needed to save us from the materialism that so largely characterizes society today. To Emerson, Divine Immanence makes possible and imperative Divine Manhood. His idealism is intensely practical. He measures men by their moral worth. Success consists in the attaining of spiritual excel-

lence.

"The world is made up of moral forces.

"The laws of virtue are resident at the heart of things and radiate to the circumference.

"All nature is on the side of the man who strives to do right as he sees it; all nature is against the man who violates that inner monitor or wilfully blinds the light that shines for his guidance.

"If I can at any time express the law and the ideal right, that should satisfy me.

"The history of Jesus is the history of every man written large.

"One man was true to what is in you and me.

"Now and then a soul is born which offers no impediment to the Divine Spirit."

Thus does Emerson, in matchless language, proclaim the divine possibilities of the individual. If, as he said, "there is no wall between the soul in man and the Over-soul," if the individual opens directly into the Absolute, it follows that we may live the god-life.

"Each one of us can bask in the great morning which rises out of the Eastern Sea, and be himself one of the children of light.

"Build, therefore, your own world.

"Trust thyself. Every heart vibrates to that iron string.

"Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind."

This is a wholesome and much needed gospel. The doctrine of depravity has been too much preached and too much lived up to. There is no sufficient excuse for moral delinquency. And the message of Emerson comes with a timely note of optimism to this new century. It is finding expression in the best phases of the New Thought movement which is giving humanity a new birth into consciousness of unlimited power and dominion.

3

But scant justice would be done to Emerson did we overlook his contribution to the Social Movement. And we regret that in so many appreciations of his work this has been overlooked. The pulpit, which should be the first to make acknowledgement of his demand for brotherhood and justice, has given it least notice, an omission which goes a long way toward confirming the criticism of an able writer who says: "The greatest evidence of the degradation of the pulpit is found in its gingerly treatment of right and wrong."

Emerson's social ideals are the logical outcome of his faith in God and his exalted view of human nature. He beheld with pity the social strifes of his day. He felt deeply and wrote trenchantly concerning the violation of moral law

in business and political affairs:

"The trail of the serpent reaches into all the lucrative professions and practices of men. Each finds a tender and very intelligent conscience a disqualification for success. The young man, on entering life, finds the way to lucrative employment blocked with abuse. The ways of trade have grown selfish to the borders of theft, and supple to the borders (if not beyond the borders) of fraud."

If he could thus arraign the competitive system thirty years ago what would he say of it today? Yet his optimism never forsakes him. It rather enables him to discern the real char-

acter of the Social Movement, which is, after all, a struggle for the supremacy of the spiritual over the material. he says, "are in the saddle and ride men." The machine masters the man who made it. The dollar mark is upon our legislatures, our colleges, our churches. But we are going to reverse this order. Some day men will be in the saddle and ride The present industrial system is becoming intolerable. On every side men are feeling that it is utterly unworthy of them as men and brothers. Even now we are in the throes of a social revolution. And when the revolution has done its work we will see that in no small measure its inspiration has been drawn from Emerson and his insistence on the dignity and worth of the individual. But there is a worldwide difference between the individualism of Emerson and that which Dr. Hillis and Father Sherman preach. Contrast the creed of these apologists of capitalism with the following from Emerson:

"No one is accomplished whilst anyone is incomplete.

"Weal does not exist for one with the woe of any other.

"While another man has not land, my title to mine, your title to yours is at once vitiated.

"As to what we call the masses and common men,—there are no common men. All men are at last of a size. Heaven reserves an equal scope for every creature."

We have no wish to attach the name and fame of Emerson to any special program of social re-adjustment, but it will be readily seen that while an individualist of the most pronounced type, his idea was not that of "competition in individualism," but, as Carlyle put it, of "individuality in co-operation." In his Boston Hymn, Emerson gives a splendid statement of his social faith even to the question of "compensating" the holders of "vested interests" when called in the name of justice and humanity to relinquish their 'divine rights."

"I cause from every creature his proper good to flow: As much as he is and doeth, so much he shall bestow. But laying hands on another to coin his labor and sweat, He goes in pawn to his victim for eternal years in debt.

Pay ransom to the owner and fill the bag to the brim. Who is the owner? The slave is owner, and ever was: Pay him."

This is also the gospel of Socialism, and we may rightly claim Emerson as a prophet of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Objection may be made to clergymen taking active part in the Socialist movement for the reason that it is political. But, it is only those who measure all things political by the partisan aims and corrupt methods of capitalist politics who fail to see anything higher in the Socialist program. The Socialist minister may say what Charles Sumner once said:

"I am not in politics, I am in morals." He is certainly not in politics in the ordinary sense. Socialist politics is as different from old-party politics as Christianity is from the peccadilloes of sects. Socialism has no concern for the weal or woe of any party or candidate merely as such. While it must for m and use a party to accomplish its purpose, anyone acquainted with its organization knows how unlike the old-party organizations it is in spirit and working. There is in it no place for the "boss," no room for the "gang." The Socialist ideal is infinitely higher than the spoils of office. If you doubt this, investigate.

EXTRACTS FROM EMERSON

ON THE REFORMER

What is a man born for but to be a thoughts and do nothing for which he morning, conservers at night. has not the whole world for his reason. If there are inconveniences and negative. what is called ruin in the way because comfort, reform for truth. life.

The power, which is at once spring and regulator in all efforts to reform, is the conviction that there is an infinite worthiness in man which will appear at the call of worth and that all particular reforms are the remov. ing of some impediment. Is it not the highest duty that man should be honored in us?

ON THE CONSERVATIVE

Conservatism stands on man's con reformer, a remaker of what man has fessed limitations, reform on his inmade, a renouncer of lies, a restorer disputable infinitude; conservatism on of truth and good, imitating that circumstance, liberalism on power. great Nature which embosoms us all One goes to make an adroit member and which sleeps no moment on an of the social frame, the other to postold past, but every hour repairs her- pone all things to the man himself. self, yielding us every morning a new Conservatism is debonair and social; day and with every pulsation a new reform is individual and imperious. life? Let him renounce everything We are reformers in the spring and which is not true to him and put all summer, in autumn and winter we his practices back on their first stand by the old-reformers in the

Reform is affirmative, conservatism Conservatism we have so enervated and maimed makes a great difference to your figourselves, yet it would be like dying ure and to your thought whether of perfumes to sink in the effort to your foot is advancing or receding. reattach the deeds of every day to Conservatism never puts the foot forthe holy and mysterious recesses of ward. In the hour when it does that it is not establishment, but reform.

> Conservatism tends to universal seeming and treachery, believes in a negative fate, believes that men's temper governs them; that for me it avails not to trust in principles; they will fail me. I must bend a little. It distrusts nature; it thinks there is a general law without a particular application-law for all that does not include any one.

What We Stand For

For the Christ of Galilee,
For the truth which makes men free,
For the bond of unity
Which makes God's children one.

For the love which shines in deeds, For the life which this world needs, For the church whose triumph speeds The prayer: "Thy will be done."

For the right against the wrong, For the weak against the strong, For the poor who've waited long For the brighter age to be.

For the faith against tradition,
For the truth 'gainst superstition.
For the hope whose glad fruition
Our waiting eyes shall see.

For the city God is rearing,
For the New Earth now appearing;
For the heaven above us clearing
And the song of victory.

-J. H. Garrison.

THE TREND OF THOUGHT AMONG THE CHURCHES

Rev. Arthur L. Byron-Curtiss, St. Joseph's Episcopal Church, Rome, N. Y.

I am heart and soul with the Socialist movement My own idea is that nothing short of pure Socialism must be aimed for.

Rev. W. De Witt Hyde, D. D., President Bowdoin College.

Modern social conditions are offering men and women of today the life blood of their fellows, and the souls who have strength to put the cup away are rare.

Rev. George C. Lorimer, D. D., Baptist, New York City.

Morgan is the best organizer in the world for the Socialists. There are a great many people who think that Socialism is all wrong because advocated by labor men. But let some able leader take up the idea and advocate it, and it will spread with tremendous rapidity.

Rev. H. M. Brooks, Pastor Christian Church, Paris, III.

Yes, I am a Socialist, and have been for ten years; but for five years of that time I did not know what was the matter with me.

Bishop F. D. Huntington, Protestant Episcopal, New York.

Speaking morally. I don't think a man has a right to be worth fifty million dollars or twenty million dollars. But if you find fault with the present system, and preach the need of change, they call you anarchist. We have agitators. There must be such. Let us listen to them. I'm willing to hear any earnest, sober thought on the subject. First there must be a general realization that something must be done, then something will be done. It will be some of these agitators and fanatics that in a future day we shall honor as the saviors of our country.

I wish the Church was not so silent in this matter. But the minister is too apt to be curtailed in his independence. He is the mouthpiece of his rich parishioners, he is the hired man of that millionaire who sits in one of the near pews. The Church will lose its power if it lacks courage and dare not assert its moral leadership. If our churches keep on preaching theology, metaphysics, casuistry, there will continue to be more and more reasons for solemn Monday meetings of ministers to bewail the vacant pews of the day before. The Church ought to be able to speak on these national topics. It was just that the old Hebrew prophets talked of. It is not necessary that the preacher should anger his people or lose his temper, but he should speak.

Rev. Wm. Rader, Third Congregational Church, San Francisco.

The people who do not attend church are not atheists. Workingmen have a theology. It did not come from a theologian seminary, but from a factory. Labor is becoming more and more a social conscience. It believes in the sincerity of Christ whose carpenter shop is labor's cathedral. Labor believes in justice and a kingdom, not in the eternal future alone, but now. It asks for a heaven today, in commerce, business and society. Workingmen criticise the church and the church finds fault with the work-



ingmen; both must be patient. But they do not criticise Jesus of Nazareth. Upon his head is labor's crown. The fault found with the chi rch is because it fails to make Christianity vital.

Rev. J. W. Malcolm, First Congregational Church, Cleveland, O.

We have been hearing for years that if the state were to take charge of these great public utilities, such as railroad, mines, etc., it would corrupt the state and intrench a plundering class in power that could never be dislodged. Now, what does such a claim as this mean? It means that the people who make it have an ax to grind. It means that they are unpatriotic; that they distrust the ability of the government to care for its citizens without these all wise outside organizations. It means that they assume the role of prophets and prophesy evil of the state and measure the corn of the government in their own fraudulent measure. Now the question is, Will they continue to make these outrageous claims any longer in the face of existing conditions, and will the people listen to their stories any longer?

Can any change that we may make bring things to a worse pass than they are at this hour? Can there be greater corruption than now exists? Wages advancing a little and the necessities of life-food, rent and fuelclimbing skyward, leaving the people on an average 33 per cent worse off than they were before and the city and state called upon to bear the burden of poverty and crime brought about by this very scheme which clamors for perpetuation, is about as bad as we can well imagine.

It has been figured out by high and competent Christian scholars that in New York city alone there are 100,000 fallen women and that 80 per cent of these are earning a livelihood by their shame because of the impossibility under our present economic regulations to earn enough to support themselves by other ways. Following the same methods of computation. it would appear that there are about 12,000 such fallen ones in our own city, about 9,600 of whom are forced to such a life because they find it impossible to earn a living in any other manner under the present conditions and methods of society.

Now, is it possible that there are yet men who will in the face of these facts and others equally sad stand up and plead for the continuation of oresent conditions and the methods which have produced them?

ls it settled that two-thirds of the citizens of this great community must forever live on the verge of serfdom and in the fear of want? Is there a decree registered anywhere that a few should dwell in luxury and the many wear their lives out in penury?

The dream of the better day is in the very air. The old yoke galls the neck of toil, the people are restless, all are looking for juster methods. Terrible crime, crookedness and shame trouble the thoughtful. The unsafety of life causes the opulent to reflect, the thought of a change stirs the heart of the millions, the people catch a glimpse of the way to claim their own, and the trusts, concentrative confederations, as well as all the pain and shame, poverty and crime which our existing regime has produced, are all working together more than anything else to bring this to pass.

No one dreams that public ownership or control of public utilities or any method of co-operation will change men or women to saints or usher in a millennium. These changes can only make moral advancement possible by removing the impassable barriers. Temptation and struggle up to a certain point aid development. Beyond that point they destroy. We

would remove those things which destroy.

DEEDS VS. CREEDS

By FANNY L. FANCHER

What's true religion?
Tenets, and isms,
Ardent adherence to time honored creeds?
Nay, 'tis soul yearning
For all creatures weal,
Life filled with loving, and kindliest deeds.

DODGE CENTRE, MINN.

THE RELIGION OF JESUS

By EDWIN MARKHAM



URN theological millinery! Put old doctrines into a museum!"
Thus cried Rev. Dr. Behrends in his address to the last Ecumenical Conference. I heartily approve the bonfire and the shelving. It was pleasant to hear the applause which greeted the doctor's vigorous language.

Once I stood in the gloom of a theological library, and what I saw on the shelves touched my spirit with melancholy surprise. There were tomes and folios and pamphlets, tier on tier—works on the Standards of the Cnurch, Apostolic Succession, the Real Presence, Baptismal Regeneration, Eternal Reprobation, Imputed Righteousness, Predestina.

tion to Eternal Death, the Hypostatic Union, Salvation by Faith Alone, the Divine Right of Episcopate.

Books numberless, all written, forsooth, to tell the way to the blessed life. Christ tells it in a single line! But there they were, tier on tier, the rubbish heap of ages. An occasional grain of good in it, perhaps, like the infrequent jewel in the catacombs. But the general impression was disheartening, appalling, sepuchral.

If religion is real, if it is worth while at all, it certainly rests on some deep, fundamental principle, something simple, practical and obvious. God is Love and Wisdom, and it is unthinkable to suppose that he has made the salvation of his children depend on belief in some metaphysical creed whose intricacies leave them in hopeless intellectual confusion.

I do not remember that Jesus exacted of his twelve disciples any statement of opinion. They were simply to follow him, engage in works of charity and good will, help in the new teaching, healing and feeding ministry. He forced no creed upon the twelve. They were permitted to serve and grow in silence, the truth unfolding within them like a flower.

Men will not always be agreed concerning speculative theology, but they can always love and serve. In simple love and service, then, we find the only possible basis for union among men of good will.

Everywhere is heard a general demand in the churches for a simpler creed. How would the Sermon on the Mount do for a confession of faith? If we wish something simpler still, we might take the Golden Rule.

The Master declared this rule to be "the Law and the Prophets." This certainly will do to begin with; the practice of this divine principle will keep us all busy for centuries to come. When we have committed this rule thoroughly to life it will be time enough to ask for the next problem.

Or, if you prefer, let us take the direction given the rich young man who went running to Jesus, and who, kneeling, asked him, "What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" Here certainly Jesus announces the essential requisite. What does he answer? Does he refer the young man to a metaphysical confession of faith? No, his answer is as direct, simple and reasonable as the light. He tells him to keep the commandments. Finally he tells him to consecrate his life and fortune to the common good. On another occasion Jesus announces his own commandment, saying: "This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you."

Those commandments are simple, yet profound as life, all pointing to one central principle—that a man should look away from self-interest and learn to help the neighbor in the spirit of humanity and joy. How would those commandments serve for a confession of faith?

And now take that dramatic passage where Christ describes the last judgment. Men have lived their iives and are now standing before the Great Judge at the Final Assize. What in that dread hour decides the fate of men? Not their belief nor disbelief in dogmatic theology. Not even their opinions about God. No, the one thing that tells for destiny is their treatment of their fellows. Those who are accepted are received with the words. "I was hungry and ye gave me drink; naked and ye clothed me; sick and ye came unto me. . . For inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren ye did it unto me.

What a sublime vision of justice and humanity!

When happily we learn that religion at bottom is secular service, that to love God is to love the true and ordered life, we shall be too busy living our religion to find time to hunt heretics for their opinions. If we must have church trials, let them all be in repremand of those brethren who are failing to live by the law of charity and affectionate justice. Let us have trials, if you will, in cases where there has been failure to feed the hungry and clothe the naked—where men have ground the faces of the poor to pile up their blood-marked millions.

The insidious tunneling of the worm of Mammon, the slow crumbling of our ideals of justice and fraternity—these are the things to fear; not the opinions of our brother concerning abstruse and controverted problems. Opinions are ever forming and fading like clouds in the firmament; but the fundamental principle of conduct remains unchanged, race after race, cycle after cycle. And the fundamental principle is the one on which Jesus bases his divine religion—the principle of humanity, the sense of the unity and interdependence of all lives, the feeling of responsibility to God for our treatment of the neighbor. Here is a truth, simple, imperious, sublime. Opinions change like the clouds, but this truth endures like the sky.

We need not fear to push all ecclesiastical lumber aside and take our stand with our Lord and Leader on the humanity principle. This is a principle as old and as permanent as the universe. Here all men can stand and be at rest in their reason—stand dignified yet humble, knowing that the immovable granite is under their feet and the unwasting constellations are over their heads.

LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM*

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

6. Who is For and Who Against Socialism



N the days of kings and kingdoms, before democracy had become the accepted rule of Anglo-Saxon life, there were certain classes of the people who might always be found in opposition to every proposed democratic movement.

THOSE WHO OPPOSED POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

The first of these classes was composed of kings, their families, and their favorites. The second class were the knights, whose profession and pleasure was war. A third class comprised the landed gentry, the nobles and the barons. A fourth class included the bandit—the "free lance"—who neither sought nor owed allegiance to any sovereign. And

lastly came the lawless, who did not desire the stricter accountability of democracy.

THE SAME OPPOSE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

These same five classes may be easily distinguished among the present day opponents of Socialism. They are not often so recognized in the public prints, but their outlines are none the less clearly discernible. Their position in the industrial world, their arguments, their methods of attack and defense—all correspond to those of the old anti-democratic elements of the days of monarchies and aristocracies.

THE MODERN KING

The kings of our industrial world are the capitalists—the monopolists—operating through the corporation and the trust. From these kings came for a long time all the privileges of the laboring man. They dictated the terms upon which he might work, the length of his laboring day; and for whom he should work. To them were given the chief privileges and opportunities of the national life, and they shared these with the people only as they saw fit. It is true there have been some good men among these many industrial despots; men who have sought to turn their own prosperity to the public good. But so it was also with the ancient kings, and yet they fell. For one good monarch, in either the political or industrial world, there have always been many bad ones; so the people have rebelled against them all, and sought out a better way.

And just as in those days the great majority of monarchs were opposed to the coming of democracy, so in these days do we find capital and monopoly enlisted among the opponents of the oncoming Socialism.

THE MODERN KNIGHT

The knights of the industrial world are those who love the crush and turmoil of competition for its own sake; whose hearts are not sickened by

^{*}This is the sfxth of a series of articles by Prof. Persinger of the University of Nebraska giving a concise yet complete exposition of Socialism, of great value to beginners in the study of the movement. The articles already published are, 1—"American Socialism Defined:" 2—"How American Socialism Came to Be;" 3—"The Aims of American Socialism;" 4—"What Socialism Would Mean to America;" The Methods of American Socialism." The five numbers of THE VANGUARD containing these articles will be mailed to new yearly subscribers for 20 cents. Order at once as the supply is limited.



its scenes of carnage and desolation. The old time knight sought battle wherever it might be found, and gloried in it for its own sake. The modern knight finds his pleasure in the keen and generally merciless struggle of private competition, and cannot look with liking upon the prospect of a life in which his appetite for strife and adventure cannot be satisfied.

For the knight of those days democracy had no charms; its ways were too peaceful. And for the adventurer of today—the lover of industrial conflict—Socialism has no charms: for its ways are also the ways of peace.

THE MODERN NOBILITY

The conservative well-to-do are the modern equivalent of the ancient nobility and landed gentry. The latter feared democracy because it meant a radical change, a change was to them a thing full of dread uncertainties. They were the contented classes, and they had no sympathy with that vision of the discontented—democracy.

Nor does the conservative class of today—as a class—approve of Socialism. It is well-to-do, and has no assurance that Socialism will not produce confusion and the loss of what it already has. And so it is naturally and sincerely among the opponents of Socialism.

THE MODERN FREE LANCE

Then there is the modern "knight of the woods," the man who values his own industrial freedom more highly than he does that of those about him. He is not a common outlaw, not the ordinary "lawless." He is sometimes of aristocratic, sometimes of democratic, family. But he cannot endure the slow and tedious process of honest wealth-production, and turns his wits to the making of his own gain from other people's losses. His effort is not to build up, but to tear down; not to aid social progress, but to force society to support him in unproductive idleness.

To the bandit of those days democracy was a most galling and unwelcome prospect: and it is no less so to the industrial free lance, the true knight errant—the speculator—of today.

THE LAWLESS AND THE SHIFTLESS

The lawless and the shiftless of old and of today are the same. They approved of democracy while they thought it meant anarchy, but opposed it when it proved to mean the reign of law. Today they aid Socialism where it promises confusion, but resist it as they discover that it means increased control of crime and criminal.

WHO ARE THE FRIENDS OF SOCIALISM?

If all these—the capitalist, the lover of industrial conflict, the conservative well-to-do, the speculator, the lawless—are among the opponents of Socialism, in what classes are its friends to be found, and what is the prospect of its future?

THOSE WHO SUFFER UNDER THE PRESENT ORDER

First and chiefly we may look to those who bear the burden of the competitive system—those same "middle" and "lower" classes whose constant discontent brought democracy to pass. Among these are two classes: Those who suffer severely, and those who suffer moderately. The former are the people of the slums, the sweat-shops, and the mines. The latter are the laborers in factory and field, the smaller merchant, and the farmer. The former seek Socialism because they must have a change, and Socialism

seems most the promise of that change. The latter advocate Socialism because they believe industrial democracy will prove as beneficial to the common people as has political democracy.

These are the bulk and body of Socialism. Leaders, advocates, endorsers, may be found among other classes; but the future of Socialism depends, as did once the future of democracy, chiefly upon the support of those to whom it promises a more hopeful life.

THOSE WHO LOOK FOR A BETTER FUTURE

Yet many others will join the movement toward an industrial government of, for and BY the people. One will be the evolutionist, who believes the future is to be better than the past, but is to become so by the persistent effort of the present. Another will be the consistent believer in democracy; for whoever accepts the theory of the right and capacity of the people for political self-government, must in time accept also the proposition that they are entittled and equal to their own industrial self-government. And to these, with numerous others, must of course be added the philanthropist, who aids in the spread of Socialism, not because of any particular personal benefit he hopes to derive from it, but because it will help to lift a great burden from the backs of a struggling people. And in this increase of other people's happiness the philanthropist finds his own.

· THE PROSPECT OF SUCCESS

Working for Socialism are the same forces, the same portions of the people, that gave success to political democracy. It is not a long journey, as history views it, from the industrial "constitutional monarchy" which we have attained to the industrial democracy which we seek. For Socialism are all the great and permanent forces of the national life. Not for long can any combination of lesser interests check its progress. The day of industrial democracy already draws near.

WHAT SOCIALISTS DO NOT BELIEVE IN

By HERBERT N, CASSON

We don't believe in "anarchy"; and therefore we demand that the present industrial anarchy shall cease and that our national business shall be managed in a just, orderly and economical way.

We don't believe in destroying law and order; and therefore we labor to bring the present state of chaos and misrule to an end, by applying the American principle of collective ownership.

We don't believe in anything that is not practical; and therefore we antagonize the present wasteful, broken-down, and ridiculous business system, and substitute a common-sense and systematic method.

We don't believe in "dividing up" and therefore we demand that workers shall not be compelled to divide their earnings with idle and useless parasites.

We don't believe in confiscation; and therefore we desire legally to get back what has been confiscated from the people.

We don't believe in abolishing the rights of property; and therefore we are endeavoring to secure those rights for every useful citizen.



We don't believe in paternalism, and therefore we wish to prevent the law from favoring a few monopolists.

We don't believe in losing our individuality; and therefore we object to a grinding process that stops human development, condemns nine-tenths of us to monotonous drudgery, and one-tenth to a life of apish etiquette and frivolity.

We don't believe in diminishing incentive and ambition; and therefore we resist a state of things which places everything worth striving for beyond our reach.

We don't believe in the destruction of the family; and therefore we protest against a social system that has broken up our homes and fostered every species of licentiousness.

We don't believe in less morality; and therefore we are trying to establish a purer, holier and more brotherly state of society.

THE NEW TIME By LEWIS MORRIS

There shall come from out this noise of strife and groaning A broader and a juster brotherhood,
A deep equality of aim, postponing
All selfish seeking to the general good.
There shall come a time when each shall to another Be as Christ would have him, brother unto brother:
There shall come a time when brother-love grows stronger Than the narrow bounds which now distract the world;
When the cannons roar and trumpets blare no longer;
And the ironclad rusts and battle flags are furled:
When the bars of creed and speech and race, which sever, Shall be fused in one humanity forever.

WHEN THE WORLD GROWS FAIR By WILLIAM MORRIS

Then a man shall work and bethink him, and rejoice in the deeds of his hand Nor yet come home in the even too faint and weary to stand. Men in that time a-coming shall work and have no fear For tomorrow's lack of earning and the hunger-wolf anear. O strange, new, wonderful justice! But for whom shall we gather the gain? For ourselves and for each of our fellows, and no hand shall labor in vain. Then all mine and all thine shall be ours, and no more shall any man crave For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter a friend for a slave. An what wealth then shall be left us when none shall gather gold To buy his friend in the market and pinch and pine the sold? Nay, what save the lovely city, and the little house on the hill, And the wastes and the woodland beauty, and the happy fields we till, And the homes of ancient stories, the tombs of the mighty dead, And the wise men seeking out marvels and the poet's teaming head. And the painter's hand of wonder, and the marvelous fiddlebow, And the banded choirs of music-all those that do and know. For all these shall be ours and all men's nor shall any lack a share Of the toil and the gain of living in the days when the world grows fair.

THE INDUSTRIAL SLAVE

By REV. HERBERT E. BIGELOW

"The Industrial Slave" was the subject of a sermon recently delivered at the Vine Street Congregational Church, Cincinnati, by the pastor, Rev. Herbert E. Bigelow. After speaking of people who deny that there is any such thing as industrial slavery and who are offended by so bold a term, Mr. Bigelow gave the following description of what he considered an example of present-day slavery:

Here is a man who has worked thirty years for one firm. He is sober. He is honest. He is industrious. His wife, too, is a hardworking, capable woman. They have toiled all their lives. They have never received a wage higher than thirteen dollars a week. They have eaten the coarsest of food. They have worn shoddy clothing. They have never traveled. They have heard of ocean billows and



mountain peaks, but they have more prospect of seeing heaven than they have of seeing the glories of their land. And what have they received for this life of labor? Not even the satisfaction of knowing that their children have profited by their labor, for they have seen their children become drudges like themselves. Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests, but these people, after all their toil, have no place to lay their heads. They have built but others inhabit; they have planted but others eat.

The other day this man called on me. He told me that his health was giving away; that his work was too hard for him; that he was afraid he would have to give up his place, and wanted to know if I could not help him get something else to do.

That man had well earned the right to rest the balance of his days. He had given his life blood to the world. His knotty hands, his stooped shoulders, his gaunt body told the story. He was like the scarred and battered hero of many battles. And how do we reward these heroes of peace? I never saw a more pathetic sight than that weather-beaten old man, looking into his future with fear, lest his feeble hands should lose their grip, and his spent body should be compelled to lay down its burden.

Years ago this man started out in life full of hope. With a light heart he led his bride to the altar. When the babies came one by one he had a father's determination to see that they should have a better chance than he had had. Love kept him at his task and hope of something better made his burden light.

The years wore away. Responsibilities multiplied. The plot of life thickened. Unlooked for obstacles arose. The struggle told on him. Gray hairs came, but that brought no fulfillment of his dreams. He had dreamed of a home, but that was not to be. He had pictured his children in the university. He saw them go to the factory instead. He had had visions of a little bank account, but that had faded long since, and the most he dared hope was that some day he might get out of debt. Almost inperceptibly he had settled down into a life of unending drudgery. His dreams of a better day gave way to his fear of a time when the helplessness of old age should be added to his burden of poverty.

Have you ever read Victor Hugo's description of the man sinking in the quicksands? No less tragic is the fate of him who experiences that dying out of hope, that gradual extinction of ambition, that fading of the dreams of youth, that final effacement in the slough of despond. Do you think the simile is extravagant?

Yet in some respects the man who perishes in the quicksands is the more fortunate. It is his body alone that perishes, while in the bogs of poverty the soul is blackened. In the quicksands the physical life comes to an end. But severe and prolonged poverty is destructive to moral beauty. In the mire of poverty there is something worse than death, there is the fearful abyss of vice and crime and shame.

What would you think of a man who would not stop to help a wretch out of the quicksands? You could not conceive of a creature so heartless. What would you think of the religion of a man who was in such a hurry to get to prayer-meeting that he had not time to stop to throw a plank or a rope to a drowning man? You would class such a man with the priest and Levite of old, and you would say that his religion was monstrous. So I say, that if you had been taught by experience, or by intimate association with poverty, or if you had the power of imagination to grasp in all its dreary details the life of the poor, and if you saw clearly how to remove the economic causes of poverty, then you would feel it to be your first religious duty to tell others, that men might learn the truth and be free.

Then the parable of the good Samaritan would read thus to you:

A certain man went down from East Aurora to New York to earn a living.

The man found work, but the cost of living was high and his wage was small. The struggle with poverty was so great that at last the man and his family lost heart. They began to go down hill. The children were sent to the factory and grew up in ignorance. Some of their number sank into vice and crime. They were drawn into the bog of poverty wherein is the end of all hope and self-respect.

Then by chance there came down that way a certain preacher, and these wretches cried out to the preacher and said: 'Help us that we may find work and earn enough to get out of this terrible place.'

And when the preacher heard this cry he passed by on the other side, declaring that a preacher ought not to meddle with the question of wages.

And likewise a deacon, an officer in the church, a man rich in this world's goods, and much reputed for piety, passed that way also. And the unfortunates cried out to the great rich man and said: 'Give us justice, that we may not need to sell our labor for the crust of bitterness.' And when the good rich man heard their cry he threw them alms and

passed by on the other side, leaving them in their wretched state.

But a certain layman, as he journeyed, came to the city. He saw how the people lived and was appalled. He set to work to study the cause of this poverty, and he might be able to help the sufferers. Having found the cause he began to proclaim the truth to men, showing them how to change their laws and deliver the poor from their thraldom.

Which of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto the poor; the man who labored to abolish the cause of poverty, or the man who witheld justice from the poor while giving them charity, or the man who denied that their condition was the concern of religion?

POINTED PARAGRAPHS

By J. E. HARRIS

In an article by Grover Cleveland ering his head over the one lost sheep. the plan? Yet such is the gospel of Individual-Success is what counts. The man who can't keep up with the procession can drop out, fall down and die or do any old thing. He doesn't count.

Socialists have a different gospel. They speak of co-operation instead of individualism. They say it is the duty of the strong to help the weak along, to see that none are "lost." No true Socialist would be guilty of enunciating such a selfish un-Christian sentiment as that uttered by Former President Cleveland.

the looks of it. real thing.

Chicago women plan to deliver pure published some time ago, that great milk to the poor at cost and will esprophet of Individualism said: "The tablish a bottling and sterilizing timid and weak that are lost can well plant. Pure mllk ought to be a pretbe spared. The brave who win the ty good thing for all classes. These fight are saved for great and noble women are trying the Socialist plan things." You don't find Grover both- in a limited way. Why not extend

> Mayor Harrison of Chicago in a message to the city council maps out a plan of campaign on the traction Municipal ownership at question. the earliest possible moment and a referendum vote on all grants of franchises are the leading features of the document. Municipal ownership is gradually paving the way for Socialism.

Some critics of Socialism have advanced the fact that strikes have occured in Holland and Australia in Germany's emperor sees probable state-owned industries as arguments success for the Socialist party in the against collective ownership. Socialcoming elections and he doesn't like ism and state ownership are two en-Dispatches from tirely distinct and different things. Germany tell of the wonderful cam- But Socialists are willing to compare paign Socialists are making and say the strike record of state-owned industheir success is almost certain. Pos. tries anywhere in the world with the sibly William's "divine right" to rule record in that line which is being may prove only an imitation of the made by privately-owned industries in the United States.

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The VANGUAF WISCONSIN

LITERARY NOTES



MODERN ALLEGORY.

By James Allman. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. This is a clever book in which the truths of Socialism are presented in an attractive and convincing manner. A supposed resident of the heaven-

ly country makes a visit to the earth to inquire into the condition of God's children and commences his investigations in the heart of London. He meets with many surprises and nowhere is he more non-plussed than in the matter of "worship" where the great God is professedly honored while alongside magnificent churches social conditions stand out in shocking contrast. The sarcasm of the author is severe but we dare not say undeserved, while his presentation of economic facts and Socialist arguments is free from the objectionable Utopianism too often found in such writings. The book will be enjoyed and will be found useful in propagan-For sale at this office. da work. Price, 50 cents, postpaid.

WHAT SHALL WE EAT? is the title of a new work issue by the Health-Culture Co., 481 Fifth Ave., New York City. After showing how food is digested, it gives the constituent elements of over 300 food products, with time of digestion, and 25 different tables showing the results of nearly 1500 food analyses, giving the comparative food values and cost in money of all articles of food in common use, and the relative value of various methods of preparation, with a chapter on adulteration. This will certainly prove a timely work, as in the tood question from the stand- after some of the prizes.

OD'S CHILDREN: A point of health and economy as at the present time.

> PRINCIPLES THE AND PRO-GRAM OF SOCIALISM, by Rev. Carl D. Thompson, noticed last month, is meeting with a great sale.

Ernest Untermann of the Appeal to Reason writes: "It is the most concise and comprehensive statement of our position I have seen in the English language."

This is a high recommendation and should encourage all students to read it. For sale at this office, 10 cents.

A bright and breezy new periodical for young folks has come to our table, "20th Century Boys and Girls," the aim of which is "to instruct and educate in the spirit of the times through fun and frolic, not forgetting that wisdom is power." The editor, Frances E. Mason, is the well-known author of "Daddy Gander," which has been called the "King of Funny Books." The wholesome humor and humane spirit of the editor here find play in a wider field and we wish his new venture the success it deserves. Address: 7 Warren St., New York City.

"The International Socialist Review," edited by A. M. Simons, is recognized as the ablest Socialist periodical published in the English language. Representative writers of Europe and America contribute to its pages, and its editorial treatment of the movement is vigorous and illuminating. No active worker in the cause of Socialism can afford to be without this magazine. It is one dollar a year. To those who have never been subscribers to the Review we offer it for one year together with a dollar's worth of books from the list on page 29 all for one dollar.

Wilshire's Magazine continues to put up a tempting array of good things every month and its circulation booms accordingly. Notice the liberal offers of the millionaire Socialist never has there been so much interest on page 27 of THE VANGUARD and go

GORRESPONDENCE -

SOCIALISM AND CATHOLICISM

TO THE EDITOR: --

As a Catholic I wish to say that the Catholic who investigates Socialism finds that there is nothing in its teachings to conflict with true religion, but there is very much that is in conformity therewith. This is the reason that thousands of Catholics are becoming Socialists. Socialists are not attacking religion and never will. Socialism is the foundation of a higher life for all and if we want to better the condition of all churches we must have Socialism.

JOHN GEIS.

PLYMOUTH, WIS.

LINCOLN

TO THE EDITOR:-

In the March issue of the National Magazine appears an article by Col. Jas Matlock Scovel, a distinguished Federal soldier, on Abraham Lincoln, in which the great emancipator stated his creed-the same as the lawyer read in response to the question of Christ. The lawyer asked the Nazarene what to do to inherit eternal life, and was told to keep the law and read: "Love the Lord with all thy heart and soul and thy neighbor as thyself." This statement Lincoln endorsed as embodying his creed, thus substantially placing himself in the Judean or Theistic cult. The commendation of Rev. Peter Cartwright as a heroic preacher by a certain prominent official will grate on the moral sense of those broad-minded and scholarly theologians who remember that the said Cartwright was a belated theologian of a narrow type who, in a campaign in which they were rivals for Congress, assailed Lincoln because he was a deist, or "infidel," as certain "pious" but inadequately informed persons term those who do not assent to their belated theologic-

al views. Washington. Jefferson. Franklin, Grant and Lincoln were of the Theistic cult. In fact every president of this Nation with three exceptions have been of the liberal Theistic faith. Garfield in his later years was not a traditionalist. In the words of an eminent and scholarly divine of the Congregational Church, they stood too near God to he misled by unreasoning theologians. They illustrated the truthful declaration of one of the Fathers of the Church: "The soul is an older authority than prophecy and its voice the gift of God from the beginning." The noble dictum, "He that doth righteousness is righteous even as He is righteous" is a compact creed to be forever treasured. QUAKER. WAUSEON, O.

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THE VANGUARD

SEPTEMBER, 1903



OD has ordered all things to be produced, so that there should be food in common to all. and that the earth should be a common possession to all. Nature, therefore, has produced a common right for all, but greed has made it a right for a few.

-St. Ambrose.

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Edited by J. M. A. SPENCE



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The Vanguard is a magazine for people who think. Others who read it do so at their own risk. We aim to stir up men's minds and lead them out of old ruts into the larger life and liberty of the twentieth century. If this paragraph is marked it means that this is a sample copy and you are cordially invited to sub-Terms above.

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The VANGUARD

"And where the vanguard camps today, the rear shall rest tomorrow." at ing

VOL. 2. GREEN BAY, WIS., SEPTEMBER, 1903. NO. 1.

In the twentieth century war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, royalty will be dead, and dogmas will be dead; but Man will live. For all there will be but one country -that country the whole earth; for all there will be but one hope-that hope the whole heaven.-Victor Hugo.

wrong, Wendell Phillips once remark- the pit whence we are digged." ed: "Thoughtlessness is the curse of the age; once get people to thinking tion list a big boost this menth.

dogmas and political fallacies are it stands for honesty among men." maintained in just this way? People cling to superstitions and party polserve to clog the wheels of progress

triotic and un-American." Gently, as having become "syndicated." But brother Hanna, gently. "Patriotism," how are views like these to find room you know, "is the last refuge etc." on a platform of "stand pat" and "let Remember also the words of our well enough alone"? He is more likestrenuous President: plenty of scoundrels always ready party. to bolster up existing iniquities, in the name of Americanism."

portation from Europe" suggests the half paralyzed, waiting for a stupid inquiry, What laws and customs have blundering world to adopt the princiwe that are not importations from ples of Socialism and thereby co-op-Europe? How many "white" people erate with God in establishing that have we who are not, after, all impor- for which the centuries have prayed." tations? Where did the Hanna stock Good! Another preacher has got come from? We are a pretty bad his eyes open. When he is fully

Concerning the apathy of "good" lot, to be sure, but let us not forget people in the face of a giant social "the rock whence we are hewn and

Andrew Carnegie says: "The greatand the country is safe." The mission est discovery of my life is that the of THE VANGUARD is to get people to men who do the work never get rich." think. Help us by giving our subscrip- Socialism declares that men should work for what they get and should get what they earn. Its motto is: A Scotch woman, when asked if she "Every one according to his deeds." believed in supralapsarianism, re- This is the way the Detroit Daily plied: "I dinna ken what that is, but Times puts it: "Socialism is making if its the doctrine of the kirk I'll tremendous strides among civilized maintain it." How many religious nations, primarily for the reason that

Commenting on Gov. La Follette's icies of which they comprehend little speech at Chautauqua, a portion of or nothing, which have no vital which we print elsewhere, the Springmeaning in the life of today and only field Republican says: It is interesting to note that this republican view coincides with that of the democratic, Senator Hanna is out against So- ex-Secretary Olney, who in 1900 spoke cialism, declaring it to be "unpa- of government in the United States "There are ly to receive a call to get out of the

A Congregational minister of this state writes to the editor: "To me it Speaking of Socialism as "an im- seems as though Christianity stands awake he will see things more clearly. Seems to us that the world is waiting for a "stupid blundering" so-called Christianity to adopt the teachings of Jesus which applied to industry spell Socialism. But the majority of church members stand "paralyzed" under the lash of capitalism, too cowardly to assert the principles they profess.

BE A MAN

To praise the deeds of our grandfathers in their heroic stand for principle requires little effort no courage. But to be true to conviction, to side with the unpopular righteous cause, A. D. 1903, in our own city and state means something. And it is our attitude towards present-day issues, not those long since dead, that tells what stuff we are made of. Hypothetical virtue is a cheap commodity. Historical patriotism is a "safe" performance. It is easy to applaud the abstract right, while to cheer at the mention of some past triumph gives one a comfortable feeling of merit. But it takes a MAN to square himself with conscience and take his stand unequivocally on the side of justice and liberty when it involves actual loss, personal hardship and the scorn of "respectable" society. It takes a MAN to do what Alexander M. Stirton, a prominent Methodist pastor of Michigan, has just done in declaring for Socialism in the following language:

"I am taking this step because it is imposible to be sane and not revolt, be sane and be silent, be sane and not take my place shoulder to shoulder with my comrades, the toilers, in the fight to overthrow the capitalist system. I am not making a sarcifice by giving up my easy life, comforts, friends and social connections. These things mean nothing to me in the face of my own present slavery and the control of the sources of life by organized greed. I do not expect the

gratitude of the toilers for taking up their fight. It is my fight and I must fight to be a man."

These are noble words.

Little wonder that Socialism is making rapid progress. The reason is found in the righteous principles for which it stands and the unselfish aims of its workers. Born of a passion for justice and brotherhood, it calls forth courage and devotion such as characterize no other movement of the age. It is the spirit of true MANHOOD that is inspiring those who are carrying the standard of the Co-operative Commonwealth to certain victory.

It takes a MAN to be a Socialist.

OUR MAGAZINE

The continuous and increasing demand for THE VANGUARD since our last issue indicates the strong hold which our magazine has upon its readers. Some of our friends evidently overlooked the announcement that there would be but one issue for June-July and one for August-September. But more of them have been at work with the result that our subscription list has received a splendid increase. Thanks to each and all! We have decided not to suspend publication again during the summer vacation, so that all our subscribers will receive twelve numbers for the year's subsciption.

During the past year, THE VAN-GUARD, like all new magazines, was largely an experiment and its fate uncertain. But that stage has now been passed. WE ARE IN THE FIELD TO STAY. Our circulation is steadily increasing in every State in the Union; and from all parts of the country the comrades write that they find THE VANGUARD of great service in awakening thought and introducing people to Socialism. We are tempted to print some of these let-

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fice that our magazine appears to fill and favor. a place otherwise unoccupied in the movement. Its tone, contents and we have arranged for attractive make-up appeal strongly series of articles on Suggestion and to a large constituency and make it kindred topics by A. C. Halphide, M. invaluable in Socialism.

to lend a hand. Let each one try to send at least one subscription a week, four a month. This will require but little effort, and the sum total will mean much for human enlightenment and liberty. Keep up the good work and we will do our best to make THE VANGUARD stronger and more worthy of support than ever.

SUGGESTION

The opposition of so-called "orthodox" teachers has always been the greatest obstacle to progress. This is as true in the healing art as in any branch of science. There has never been any real advance in the medical profession that has not been fought to the bitter end by the "regulars" because it conflicted with their pre-conceived theories.

The most notable instance of this in recent times is seen in regard to Mental Science, Suggestion, Hypnotic Healing, Faith Cure or whatever the healing aspect of the New Thought may be termed. The name matters little; the same law operates in all phases of the Metaphysical movement. Blind prejudice and bitter antagonism have characterized the have been open-minded earnest in- ed from we are glad to vestigation. But note a great change of late in the athealing. The doctors are beginning moralized business. The remedy for to recognize and employ Suggestive graft is to be found only in cutting Therapeutics in their regular pracit grows. Under Socialism tice, while the medical journals are will be "no incentive" to graft.

ters but space will not permit. Suf- discussing the subject with freedom

We are pleased to announce that a valuable the propaganda of D., of Chicago, to begin in our next issue. Dr. Halphide is a Again we ask our energetic friends minded and progressive physician. and is the author of several able works on this subject. He will go over the ground in a concise plain fashion. His articles will be interesting and instructive and our readers will find much material for thought therein.

"THE GRAFTERS"

In the Saturday Evening Post of Aug. 22, under the above heading, Wood Norton describes the wholesale corruption and public robbery that prevail at Washington. The article is illustrated by a picture of Uncle Sam being "held up" by two well-dressed "prosperous" looking "gentlemen." After showing up the methods of the officials who get "rakeoffs" on contracts and the politicians who use the Government to pay their political debts, Mr. Norton sums up the situation is these startling sentences:

"It may be disheartening to the honest citizen out of politics, to the man with the good of his country at heart, to contemplate the fact that the trail of graft is over the politics of the country."

"Graft is the basis of politics Graft is the lifeblood of politics. Graft controls, dominates, sways. Hairs can be split about terms, Protests can be made. Hands can be held up in horror Individuals can proclaim they are free from the taint; but analyze it, sift it, dissect it, and back of it all, under it all, when hypocrisy is cleared and men tell the truth, is graft, graft, graft."

Such is the showing our capitalist system makes, the only showing it could make, for capitalism is essenantagonism have characterized the tially a system of graft, essentially medical profession where there should DISHONEST. It means wealth filchthose who produced it. That this may be done by "legal" or "business" methods only makes matters worse, showing how capitalism titude of physicians toward psychic has corrupted legislation and dedown the capitalistic tree upon which

The Trend of Thought

Governor Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin.

Taxation without representation is as much a crime against just and equal government in 1903 as it was in 1776. Government by corporations is as destructive of the liberties of the people of this country as the exercise of the same power by a foreign monarch. The arbitrary control of the price of coal and iron, and corn, and wheat, and beef—whether by an extortionate transportation rate, or by a monster combination, is a more absolute tyranny of the American people than quartering the army of King George upon the American colonists without their consent. There can be no such thing as commercial slavery and individual freedom. We may have the privilege of the ballot, we may have the semblance of democracy, but industrial servitude means political servitude. Monopoly in transportation and coal and iron and the food products, makes a pretense and a mockery of political freedom.

Let us see if the time be not ripe for a new declaration of American Independence. We are building up colossal fortunes, granting unlimited power to corporate organization, and consolidating and massing together business interests as never before in the commercial history of the world, but the people are losing control of their own government. Its foundations are being sapped and its integrity destroyed. 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' What shall it profit a nation if it gain untold wealth, and its people lose their liberty?

The gravest danger menacing republican institutions today is the overbalancing cortrol of city, state and national legislatures, by the wealth and power of public service corporations.

The coal trust bears harder even upon the unfortunate, helpless labor that mines the product at a wage level of a generation ago than upon the consumers who are just beginning to feel the burden of its increasing oppression. Its utter indifference and contempt for the constitutional and statutory law, for public opinion, and wide-spread want and suffering should awaken in the people of this free country the spirit which framed the Declaration of Independence and founded a government in which the will of the people should be supreme.

Judge C. C. Goodwin, Salt Lake City, formerly editor Salt Lake Tribune (Republican.)

Unless present signs fail, we do not believe that either the republican or the democratic party will elect more than one president.

There are strong men in every state who have exhausted their thought on how to stop the domination of wealth and its mighty aggregation in a few hands and have decided that the only way to rescue the country and prevent its further falling under the dictation of a few wealthy men and thus establish an aristocracy of wealth is to so adjust matters that money will be a mere convenience and cease to a controlling force.

These men are moving in every state, and the increase in a single year in the Socialist vote is so significant that it points to a social and political revolution in the very near future.

Suppose there should come a government which should decide that the

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railroads of the country should be owned by the government, should appraise them and pay for them in government bonds, and then provide for a sinking fund which would in a few years take up the bonds, that then one and another of the public utilities of the country should likewise be absorbed and finally decide that the land, like the water, should be free to all men, and proceed to levy taxes accordingly, is it not clear that in a very few years money would be valueless for any purpose of gain through its use? If a man had a million or ten or a hundred millions of dollars how could he invest it or use it in a way to give him an income from it?

Well, it requires a vote of only 51 per cent of the people to bring this about, and alert men in every state are working to this end.

Hon. Wayne McVeagh, Chicago.

There are few intelligent and honest public men in America today but fully admit that the trend of events is toward Socialism.

The American voter who desires to cast an intelligent vote must study Socialism.

I do insist that our evasion of Socialism is unworthy of American manhood.

From The Boston Globe.

When Rev. C. E. Beals, the pastor of the Second Congregational church, gave his address to the graduating class of the high school, he deliberately placed himself in the ranks of modern Socialism. When Mr. Beals stated, "It is recorded that in one year the Willamantic linen company paid its employes 90 cents a day and declared an 80 per cent dividend," local papers knew very well that he had in mind people in his own church who are securing large dividends and paying small wages. The dividends are not so large as those mentioned by Mr. Beals, and the wages are not as small, but that is the only difference.

The local men are good citizens in the general sense. They are generous supporters of the Second Congregational church, and some of them have subscribed \$300 cash toward the erection of the proposed new parsonage.

In view of these facts, it took courage on the part of Mr. Beals to say what he did. Here are a few sentences that show how keenly Mr. Beals feels: "Is it is rife? Men to be wondered at that discontent deserve to be slaves, if they consent to be slaves, and I believe that the church preaches the wickedest kind of heresy when it says 'Submit, be content, in heaven all things will be to the workman. made right.' Christianity means justice on earth. The condemnation of the existing industrial system is that it brutalizes manhood. Success is measured in dollars. Dividends are of more importance than manhood and character." "The next natural forward step in social evolution will be the transfer of great consolidated industries from trusts and private capitalism to public ownership. Some day the people will own the railroads and the coal mines and all the larger necessary business of the land." Mr. Beals frankly announced that he accepts the Socialist theory and that he intends to vote the Socialist ticket in politics.

Love Comes!

OVE comes!

Clear the way, ye institutions, ye laws and customs of ages of hate!

The glance of His eyes would wither you.

The quiet thrill of His voice would palsy your deepest foundations.

You do well to tremble at His name, for He is the revolution at last the true, long-deferred Revolution.

Call upon the mountains to fall upon you and the hills to cover you, for, lo, LOVE, the Revolution, comes at last!

ERNEST CROSBY.

HEAVEN AND HELL

By REV. B. FAY MILLS.



REMEMBER that there was a time when shrinking man was a shivering savage, killed by the cold, smitten by the heat, at the mercy of his fellow wild animals of the forest, destroyed by pestilence and plague, subject to terrible diseases, the very knowledge of which has perished from the earth, brutish sensual, selfish, knowing as this world only the rude surroundings of the region where he was born, living his brief life and dying as the beasts of the field—and this Hell is gone forever.

I remember the ignorance of our ancestors. Simple at first must have been man's words, and yet the simplest lauguage

may have been too profound for the need of the expression of his thoughts. We may trace his infantile imaginings regarding himself, the world, the sun, moon, stars and sky. We find his superstitions today unworthy of even the fancy of our little ones, and while we know not as we would, we see the vanishing of the primeval darkness. "We see not yet the full day here, but we do see the paling night."

We look at the moral man of antiquity. We find his passions unrestrained, his appetite indulged without limit, his self-seeking almost unchecked. We see him rejoicing in corruption, glorying in brutality, fighting, killing, torturing and actually eating his fellows, even his own offspring, with no conception of his own value, without the idea of justice, with no dream of social obligation or opporunity, with little conscience, without remorse, with exulation over his proficiency in what now seems his meanness, faithless, hopeless, loveless, believing in Hell, worshpping the devil,—and we cannot find words to express our joy that this Hell is so largely only like a nightmare memory of the past.

Joyfully do we turn our faces the other way. As we consider the pro-

gress and prospect of the human race, we discover our worth from the history of society. We gather up the wisdom of the ages. We mastered the beasts so long ago we have almost forgotten the date and the process. We have conquered the pestilences, we do not shiver in winter, and we protect ourselves from the summer heat. The ground is no longer cursed but is blessed for our sake, and brings forth a thousandfold for every real and imaginary need of man. The storm no longer frightens us and the fire does not appall; we have harnessed them both to do our will. The luxury of yesterday is the squalor of today. The blood of the ancient Orient flows in the veins of the young Occident. The world has become one city; we transfer ourselves about the globe as though we were possessors of Aladdin's lamp. We whisper our thought to the lightning, and it is heard for thousands of miles. The heaven of sufficiency and comfort and righteous luxury for all has already begun its reign on earth.

We have learned how to learn, we have discovered how to discover, we have invented invention. We are wringing answers to all our questions from mind and matter. We have created philosophy and science. We know that in our knowledge we should be as gods to the earliest men, and yet the greatest thing we know is that we shall yet know more. Here, too, has "heaven begun below."

We have developed a conscience. As we learned the value of men, we are now learning the infinite worth of humanity. We no longer bow before the gods and incarnations of the mythologies of the past, important as their symbolism may have been for our ancestors—we will know God for ourselves and not another. We discover "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and God in everything." We are slowly but surely learning to love our neighbors as ourselves, in that we see that human society is one living organization and that we are indeed members one of another. We have fairly stated, at last, what now seems to us the ultimate problem of the race—that we may learn to live each for all and all for each; and if we have not all learned its solution, we have at least apprehended it afar off. We have killed the devil and are filling np Hell. We regard as our greatest glory the apprehension of the glory yet to be.

"Roaming in thought over the universe,
I saw the little that is called good
Steadily hastening toward immortality;
And the vast all that is called evil
Hastening to merge itself and become lost and dead."

I heard Dr. Hale say a year ago that one of the greatest Abolitionists who had fought and almost died to help the slaves to freedom, one who kept a station of the "Underground Railway," was approached recently by his little boy twelve years of ages, and the boy said, "Papa, what is a slave?" His father had almost died to free the slave, and the boy had never heard of one until he was twelve years old, and then had to ask this question. And the day is coming when the boys will look into the faces of their parents and say not only "What is a slave?" but they will say "What is poverty?" "What is injustice?" "What is war?" and the parent shall scarcely find language for adequate description to the child! So, aimd the realization of the present and the prophecy of the possible achievement of the future. I believe the callto us today to be nothing.

on earth the eternal "City of Light." "They that will not fight for this city, what city will they fight for?" Let this great thought purge us from our sensuality, deliver us from our selfishness, and lead us with quenchless faith and holy hope and high endeavor to the realizing in us and through us of the great ideal of love.

"The old times are dead and gone and rotten!
The old thoughts shall never more be thought!
The old faiths have failed and are forgotten!
The old strifes are done, the fight is fought!
And with a clang and roll, the new creation
Bursts forth o'er tears and blood and tribulation!"

OAKLAND, CAL.

THE ROOT OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

By LEONARD D. ABBOTT



HE findamental blasphemy of our civilization lies in the assumption that it is right and natural for the majority of people in the world to be poor.

What should we think of the biologist who seriously contended that it was normal for the majority of human beings to be deformed? What opinion could we have of the doctor who took the position that it was right and natural for men to be in a chronic condition of disease? And yet these conclusions are not more monstrous than is the point of view of the political economist who publishes learned tomes based on the assumption that it is right that the majority of men

should be poor.

"The poor ye have always with you." How many times has this saying of Christ been made to serve as a buttress for every conservative and careless view of social conditions! Many of us seem really to have persuaded ourselves into the fatalistic conception for which it stands. People argue gravely about the "impossibility" of abolishing poverty,—as if poverty existed in the world as the result of a natural law. such as that which controls the sweep of the tides or the falling of the rain.

Now of course there is no denying that in every age of the world there have been men lazy and spendthrift, men who would always be poor because they lack restraint and prudence, men who squander what they have. Doubtless there will always be such men. But these men are relatively few. They are so few, in proportion to the whole, that they need hardly be taken into account in the present argument. The problem we are considering is not, Do spendthrifts deserve to be poor? but, Is it right that whole classes of men, the majority of men, should be poor?

There exist all around us multitudes of men doing the most useful kind of work that can be done, work which builds the very foundation of our social life and is so necessary that to imagine it stopped is to imagine a world plunged in chaos. They are mining the coal that warms us; growing the food that we eat; fashioning the clothes that we wear; building

the houses that we dwell in. Surely if any men comfortable-aye, should be rich-it is these. It may be true that doing more original work. more "intellectual" other men are work, work that requires a rarer type of mind and hands. But this does not at all alter the fact that the manual workers are furnishing the sustenance without which the higher life could not exist for a moment; it cannot blind us to the fact that the workers are the really organic part of society. And yet the incontestible fact remains, that the workers, as a class, are very poor; that when their lives are not utterly squalid, they are stunted and broken; that their environment is such as to shut out not only the beauty of the world in which we live, but also to rob them of all that finer heritage of thought and culture, of aspiration and achievement, which has come down to us through the centuries, and has invested our human life with its dignity and strength.

No thinking man, no man with a consciousness of the integrity of his own manhood and a sense of the duty he owes to his fellows, can possibly acquiesce in social conditions which produce such a result. He is driven into the revolutionary camp by the very deep-seatedness of the evils with which he would grapple. No "reforms," no superficial nostrums, will eradicate injustice so fundamental as this. We hew a tree at its root, not among the branches. Society is upside down. The obvious thing to do is to turn it rightside up.

The working class is poor because it is dependent on a capitalist class. And the capitalist class is rich because it owns the land and machinery of the world's production. Socialism is simply the proposition that the working class—and all who sympathize with their cause—should take the world out of private hands, and put it into public hands. The evolution of industry, by massing capital in a few hands, is every day making this task an easier one.

When once men decide to take possession of their own property, when once society becomes a unified and organized association, the problem of poverty will vanish. The world contains enough—and much more than enough—for every human being. Nature literally pours its bounty upon us. We simply have not yet learned to live together in a sane way. Socialism will teach men how thus to live. It will end the struggle for mere existence. It will secure the material side of life. It will give us at last the opportunity to take hold of the world and to re-fashion it in glory and beauty that have been visioned, but never realized.

Co-operation, or socialistic effort, instead of abolishing individual effort, necessarily involves and stimulates it, since there can be no collective effort without effort on the part of each member of the combination or organization. Government is but a substitution of collectivism for individualism. It turns the latter into new directions and opens to it new duties and opporunities. In Socialism there may be the most intense competition—to do for the community more than any other individual can do.—MILTON SCOTT LYTLE.

LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM*

By Prof, CLARK E. PERSINGER

7. Why American Socialism Hopes For Success

T

HE history of all democracy is much the same. In the religious and political worlds it may be followed through four stages (1) Intolerance and contempt; (2) Toleration, but with indifference; (3) Discussion and experiment; (4) Gradual acceptance. The progress of democracy in religious and in political life was obstructed by certain classes and with certain arguments. Its success was attained by the development of certain sentiments and tendencies in national life, and through the support of certain well defined classes.

THE PAST AND PRSENT HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY

In the preceding "Lessons" I have sought to make clear the alikeness of the old and the new democratic struggles. I have attempted to show that the same elements which opposed political democracy in times past, now oppose industrial democracy, and that their arguments are but the old ones used again. These classes I have claimed to be modern equivalents of the old-time kings, knights, nobles, and bandits. Their arguments only the "impracticability," the "slavery," the "deadening uniformity" of democracy, either political or industrial. If these things be true—if the issues are the same, the classes for and against similarly arrayed, and the arguments contain nothing alarmingly new—the parallel between the previous and the present democratic movements is more than encouraging: it is prophetic of certain and not distant victory.

THE SUCCESS ALREADY ATTAINED

But there are other grounds of encouragement. Of the above named four stages of progress we have already passed through two, and are well entered upon the third. From intolerance and contempt Socialism has attained to respectful treatment even at the hands of its avowed enemies. From the disfavor of all it has made its gradual way to more or less unconscious, but none the less real belief and acceptance by a large portion of the American people. From suspicion and condemnation it has risen to respect and wide acceptance. Its future is its own. Upon the wisdom and courage of its advocates depends the rapidity of its progress toward the fourth and last stage.

THE TENDENCIES OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE

Yet not even is this all. In our national life has been constantly increasing the recognition of the justness of labor's demands and the evils of the capitalistic regime. This recognition has expressed itself in a three-fold attempt to provide protection for the laborer. On the part of Congress and state legislatures we have had enacted laws demanding factory inspection, defining the amount of a day's labor, and looking toward the health-fulness of the city laborer's home; dead letters, many of them, but yet sig-

^{*}This is the last of Prof. Persinger's valuable articles. The entire series will soon be issued in pamphlet form for propaganda.

nificant of a new public spirit. On the part of the laborer himself we have seen begun and carried to a high point of efficiency two protective measures—labor unions, and mutual insurance associations; the one a protection against the oppression of the employer, the other a defense against undeserved poverty. And even among the people has moved in a moderate way the spirit of alleviation in the "Consumer's League" of eastern cities, pledged to purchase the products of none but well-paid labor.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CHARITY

The labor problem has also brought with it the more rational treatment of the poor. In place of indiscriminate charity, encouraging shiftlessness and excusing the rich from contributions, we have seen the rise of a system of organized and well administered charity, not only discriminating between necessity and pretense, but producing a keen realization of the demoralizing results of "temporary "remedies for permanent evils. More, it has led to the study of practical or applied Sociology, and so produced a scientific study of social conditions most favorable to Socialism.

STEPS TOWARD NATIONALIZATION

In yet another direction is progress most encouragingly evident. The people are beginning to understand that the national life itself is supplying the most unanswerable of arguments in favor of Socialism and in evidence of its practicability. The postal system, the public schools, the development of civil service reform, the increasing control and regulation of trusts, the rapid advance and almost invariable success of municipal owership—all these are but so many arguments in behalf of Socialism, so many steps toward its attainment

TENDENCIES OF OUR POLITICAL LIFE

In the political life, also, the growing adoption of Socialistic principles is evident. In the '30's there was "labor" agitation, but no organization. In the '70's the "anti-monopoly" party gave expression to the increasing feeling against capitalistic encroachment. In the '80's "labor parties" voiced this growing protest. In the '90's arose Populism, imparting an anti-capitalistic impulse which has since greatly modified both the older parties. Within a few years has been added a new element—a blending of the voices of native and foreign born citizens, finding expression in the various Socialistic parties of the last three campaigns.

THE RISE OF A POPULAR SOCIALISM

But most encouraging of all is the fact that Socialism has ceased to be merely the abstruse economic and political philosophy of the few, and has become the less precise but tremendously more potent conviction of the many. The older Socialism of scientific scholasticism has given way before the broad and easily understandable principle of industrial Democracy—the belief in the right and the capacity of the whole people to attend to the affairs of their industrial life, just as they have so long attended to those of their political life; the intention of the people to disown the regime of industrial kings, as they long ago disowned that of political kings, the prospect of an industrial self-government like unto the political self-government with which, whatever the ills it owns, satisfies us better than were ever people satisfied with the rule of priest, or king, or noble.

THE FUTURE

The victory is not won; but it is winning. There is no time for cessa-



tion of effort; but there is ample cause for encouragement. The progress of industrial democracy has been rapid—amazingly rapid of late years. The days just past have been a time of great breaking up of old party lines and passing away of old party issues. The times have been ripening for the heralding of the principles of Socialism, and throughout the length and breadth of the land its gospel is being spread. Today is full of promise. Tomorrow urges greater expectations. The full recognition of industrial democracy may lie yet a generation ahead. It may possibly be distant even farther. But we of the present shall see many long steps taken toward the industrial emancipation of mankind, and the realization of that true and lasting industrial democracy for which American Socialism expends its constant effort.

May the first lesson of Socialism be soon learned—the one important truth, that Socialism is but DEMOCRACY again in new form, ready to impart to American industrial life the blessings it has already bestowed upon religious and political life: an industrial America of the people. for the people, and BY THE PEOPLE.

THE END.

ROBBED

Great God! How can these humans face without the flush of shame these other humans they have robbed.

Do not delude yourself with thought of dollars shining with a silvery sheen;

Do not delude your soul with one suspicion that the gold you have and they have not is meant by me— $\,$

Though God Almighty knows (as knows your soul and mine) they have been robbed, robbed, from first to last, continually and neverendingly robbed, robbed—

Yet were those robbings not the robbings meant.

* * * * *

Robbed of the tender care a child, just born, should have!

Robbed of the food to fill its nature's need!

Robbed of pure air and sunshine-heritage of all!

Robbed of the songs of birds, perfume of flowers, delight of growth where grass and trees speak ever to the soul of something unattained-- of something somewhere to be sought, and found!

Robbed of a home, and of all chance to know what "Home" should mean and be!

Robbed of the innocence of thought, imagination, word and act he had a right to claim as his!

Robbed! Robbed! Robbed!

Forever robbed, this human stands confronting you and me-

And I am shamed that I have had these things and he has not:

And he has not.

Oh but the hunger by his eyes betrayed must haunt my heart and brain! Oh but the thing he might have been must now, henceforth and ever more stand clearly in my sight, —condemning me!

Oh but the horror of that contract 'twixt the is and might have been in his my brother's—life, must hold dominion,—damning life of mine!

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Oh but the knowledge that this cuffed and spat upon small semblance of humanity is multiplied throughout the earth by thousands, thousands, that are now, have been, and on the morrow yet shall still be robbed, robbed, robbed, of earth, sea, air, and every chance to be what man should be, must now compel confronting of the cruel wrong that is!

Robbed; that another might know of earth's best. Robbed; shall the robbers escape without loss?

We have counted the cost of all thievings; and cash—with the things they obtain through their coinage called "cash"—would be willingly thrown at the feet of the robbed on a day that shall be, on a day that shall speedily come, if the robbed would acquit the possessors of debt.

Shall a penny now pay for that pinching of soul?

Shall a dollar defray what has damned a whole life?

Shall a thousand teach children whose parent's souls starved?

Shall ten-thousand transform what was bred like a brute and brought forth 'mid all filth to the semblance of a soul that aspires?

Shall a million make this that is human in shape seek and find in a moment what ages denied?

Shall the wealth of the world, if you give it at once, work, a miracle—making his will as a God's?

Ah, you know that it won't, and the debt won't be paid-

Yet, the debt must be paid, as you know.

* * * * *

In the morning I meet him, the Robbed, making haste, Making haste to be robbed of his hours, of his strength.

Just at nightfall I meet him, the Robbed, making haste,

Making haste to be robbed as before,—but by others no worse, but as bad.

How the horrible haste he is in to be robbed holds the mirror before us disclosing past days—

Did he think it was more than his substance we filched when he let us defraud him at first?

Did his grandsire go willingly groping in mines without thinking his child, and his children to come, would be stunted in body and brain?

Did his father fling health and the strength of a man for five farthings a day at a rich man's command without thought that his offspring would come forth a fool?

If they did or they didn't, the child has been robbed—And the Robbed is requesting repaying of HIS.

Robbed! And now demanding repayment of his!

And have we aught wherewith to pay?

If we have, Make short shift of the paying, say I:

If we've not, May the God of the Robbed have some mercy on your soul, and mine:

If we've not, May the Robbed have more mercy than we.

EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLZ

And as for national government! The most absolute monarchy that ever existed was merely an independent people in comparison with the solidarity of government by a thousand millions of dollars. John Brisben Walker, Editor "The Cosmopolitan."

NEW THOUGHT AND SOCIALISM

By W. I. GORDON, M. D.

It is to be regretted that these two movements still work separately, the majority of those interested in each knowing little of the principles and aims of the other. The efforts of the two combined would soon bring mankind to realize that the heritage of happiness which nature provides for all can be secured for the benefit of all.

Although working separately the two movements are identical in seeking to abolish disease, crime, want and misery, and substitute health and happiness for all who will work. Both take the ground that no man can be spiritual if half-starved mentally or physically or reared amid unhealthful conditions. They stand for natural rights and the uplifting of society. Together they embrace more for the elevation of man than all other movements of the age. History does not afford a parallel of such significance as is seen in the logical relationship between Socialism and New Thought.

New thought teachings awaken the mind and give clear insight of God's intentions for his children, showing that man's ignorance and selfish laws are alone responsible for sickness and starvation in a land of plenty. They develop a type of individuality which does not require men to be"meek and lowly" when and where that implies submitting to injustice. Socialism points the way to the better social order, educates man to vote for his emancipation and secure an environment conducive to a higher and nobler individuality.

Both of these movements recognize the fact that past teachings and legislation are the cause of the present deplorable conditions. The one seeks to substitute truth for error in the region of thinking; the other seeks to substitute equity for exploitation in the sphere of economics. Both are working toward a New Commonwealth of genuine Christianity.

PYTHIAN TEMPLE. CLEVELAND, O

SUGGESTION IN THE HEALING ART

By E. T. CAMP, M. D.



trated that the subject- successful

T has been clearly demon- tional or organic, is susceptible to suggestive tive mind has complete Hypnosis has been used very successcontrol over the func- fully as an anæsthetic both general tions of the body, and and local. In good subjects local that while in the sub- aænsthesia is one of the easiest of jective state it is en the phenomena produced. Anginas tirely under the contro and migraine are readily relieved of the suggestion of Rheumatism is very susceptible to hypnotist. If treatment by suggestion, This should this be true, it is a log be hailed with delight, as it is one of

cal conclusion that any disease, func- the slowest to yield to the treatment

of drugs.

We all realize the value of suggestion in the care of our patients. Where is the doctor who has not used placeboes? You may say this is done in cases where the disease is imaginary. We admit this to be true in many instances, but after all, our imaginary troubles excel our so called real ones. I insist an imaginary trouble is as difficult to relieve by the use of drugs as a real one; in fact, imaginary disease cannot be cured without the aid of suggestion. You have to disabuse the mind of the patient of the existence of any disease, or inspire his implicit confidence in your ability to cure him before you will be able to cure him. In either case it is suggestion. In the latter instance you may use drugs, but they are only auxiliary and would have no effect minus the confidence. Suggestion is the kevnote to the success of all, or most all, the patent nostrums that marvelous cures are attributed to daily. If it was not for this fact we would not note the marvelous financial success of the patent medicine man. Take away what marvelous things he claims his nostrum will do, and which the patient accepts as true, and you would find but few remedies on the market.

When the practical importance of mental influence becomes more generally recognized, physicians will be



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Suggestion is not only the key to the origin and aggravation of disease, but it also explains the action of drugs in many instances. If medicines have a different effect when prescribed by different doctors, we must admit it is due to psychical causes. It is true, in many instances, it is an unconscious suggestion, but nevertheless it is suggestion.

Suggestion as a therapeutic agent will outlive many remedies whose praises fill the columns of medical literature of today. It has stood the crucial test of time longer than any drug as a therapeutic agent. The history of a large majority of the drugs that have been introduced during the history of medicine shows that one is discarded and others taken in its stead. No one claims even any particular branch of medicine to be a perfect science, and every one knows almost all the investigations and advances made in medical science have been from a material standpoint and to the neglect of the psychic side of the question.

I do not contend that there is no such thing as matter and that disease exists only in the mind, but call attention to the psychic influence in the etiology of dieases, as well as its potentiality as a factor in the healing art. The evidences of the truthfulness of this proposition are to be seen every day by the most casual observer. To fail or refuse to see them is to shut our eyes to staring facts and "live in a fool's paradise."

Nuggets

The Ideal is the true Son of God.—KANT.

Sincerity is the way to heaven.—

What am I but an idea? Spirit?—WALT WHITMAN.

What is the hardest task in the world? To think.—EMERSON.

If there is anything that will not bear free thought, let it crack.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

He that will not reason is a bigot.
He that cannot reason is a fool.
He that dares not reason is a slave.
—DRUMMOND

All truth is one and universal, and does not depend on any book or any person.—H. W. DRESSER.

It is faith in something, and enthusiasm for something, that makes a life worth looking at.—HOLMES.

Never explain, never retract, never applogize—get the thing done and let them howl.—Benjamin Jowett.

If your wagon won't hitch to a star,—that isn't the fault of the star.
—BOLTON HALL.

All truth issafe and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back truth or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency, is either a coward or a criminal, or both.—MAX MULLER.

Our ignorance is the cause of our suffering. If we only knew the good old universe, and knew our own powers, we could abolish poverty and every social hell.—J. STITT WILSON.

Be happy over something every day, for the brain is a thing of habit, and you cannot teach it to be happy in a moment if you allow it to be miserable for years.—ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

Let the parsons, who make for themselves a cruel and barbarous God, be eternally damned, as they desire and deserve; and let those parsons, who conceive God gentle and merciful. enjoy the plenitude of his mercy!—FREDERICK THE GREAT.

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DALISM. By W. J. Ghent.

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without an evident purpose. To one in the habit of reading on social topics the table of contents has no charm, but the charm is here for in no other of so serious a moral purpose and so wide a social outlook have I discovered such deep, well-balance and thoroughly enjoyable humor.

He portrays the society in which we live. The present civilization is on the highway to a benevolent feudalism. There are the barons, who are graded on the basis of possessions. Then come the court retainers and agents: then workers in pure and applied science, artists and physicians; then the managers of great industries; then foremen and superintendents; then skilled workers; and finally the unskilled. These are gradually becoming fixed in regular classes, and beginning to know their "station." and the feudal system of ownership, posssession and government is emerging out of the chaos of a decaying democracy. And all of this is told in a matter-of-fact way, with a wealth of references and quotations, so that when the book is finished one is inclined to wonder why other people are not alive to the consequences of our present inequitable way of disbursing the wealth of the people and

UR BENEVOLENT FEU- allotting out the gifts of nature.

There has been much debate among Published by the critics as to whether Mr. Ghent MacMillan Com- were in earnest. In his preface to pany, New York. Price the third edition, however, this doubt is removed for the author declares This book has already that escape from baronial dominpassed through several ance "can come only by a collective editions and is today determination to secure the dembeing more widely read ocractic ownership and operation of than when a year ago it industry." This book of Mr Ghent's created something of a sensation on is easily the book of the day on the its first appearance. It is written in social problem, and will awaken many a most dispassionate way, but not to social reform by its radical sanity.

> HOW TO TRAIN CHILDREN AND PAR-ENTS. By Elizabeth Towne. Published by the author. Price 25 cents. For Sale by The Vanguard Press.

Mrs. Towne's treatment of this very important subject is one of the clearest, truest, and sanest I have ever read. It is the most practical application of "new thought" to a life-relationship I have seen. The motherhood which she holds up is a great. strong, divine ideal so sublimely superior to the littlenesses that fret and irritate and vet so thoro and self-contained that when I try to tell you about it is seems to go into the realm of the visionary and unattainable, but when Mrs. Towne tells it to you it seems the most practical thing in the world. Right here is her great forte. She makes you know that you can do and be the transcendent thing she writes about, and she doesn't so much as know that it is transcendent. You seem to hear her talking over the back .yard fence, and feel at home with her sublimities.

SOCIALIST Songs. Compiled by Charles H. Kerr. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price 20 cents. For sale by The Vanguard Press.

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might have been an Socialism "iridescent dream" once upon a time, but, judging from a few remarks dropped by Mr. Hanna, it is seemingly assuming the proportions of a large and full-sized nightmare for that gentleman.-ERIE PEOPLE.

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Edited by J. M. A. SPENCE



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The VANGUARD

"And where the vanguard camps today, the rear shall rest tomorrow."

VOL. 2. GREEN BAY. WIS., OCTOBER, 1903. NO. 2.

The ethical ideals of Socialism have attracted to it generous souls and have enlisted in its ranks its best adherents. It is these ethical ideals which have inspired the rank and file of the Socialistic army with fiery zeal and religious devotion. It may be said, indeed, that nothing in the present day is so likely to awaken the conscience of the ordinary man or woman, or to increase the sense of individual responsibility, as a thorough course in Socialism. The study of Socialism has proved the turning point in thousands of lives, and converted self-seeking men and women into self-sacrificing toilers for the masses. The impartial observer can scarcely claim that the Bible produces so marked an effect upon the daily habitual iife of the average man and women, who profess to guide their conduct by it, as Socialism does upon its adherents. The strength of Socialism in this respect is more like that of early Christianity as described in the New Testament .- Prof. Richard T Ely.

There was once a great man, a pro- business without violating the nogrew weary of his incessant agita- ity. tion, and slew him As they gathered around the corpse they said indignantly, "This man treated the whole world as a football and kicked it." The dead man opened one eye. "But always toward the goal," he said. The mission of THE VANGUARD is to prod civilization along, always toward the goal. It is not dead nor dying. Indeed, it is very much alive; and invites your help in the workof social betterment and the uplifting of all human life.

Contrast the ethics of Socialism with the declaration of John C. fore the industrial commission, Ques- of the God of Justice. tioned as to the morality of certain transactions of the sugar trust, he Socialism. ness from ethics. will make it possible for men to do subject. The old-party papers, either

phet, whose fellow citizens at length blest and holiest instincts of human-

"What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly?" wrote one of the Hebrew prophets, thus voicing the demand of the Eternal which finds expression today nowhere so definitely and reasonably as in the Socialist movement. Socialists demand justice, simple justice for all; and they will not rest until justice prevails. What the Prophet was to the oppressions of old time, what the Abolitionist was to negro slavery, that the Socialist is to the cruel, inhuman, demoralizing capitalistic system of today-a sleepless remorseless conscience, with the naked sword of Havemeyer made some time ago be- truth in hand, smiting in the name

The present is the Socialists' opporreplied:"The fate of rival concerns is tunity. The people are asking about their affair, not ours. I do not care Socialism as never before and those two cents for your ethics. I know who candidly investigate are rapidly nothing about them, I am talking being convinced of its righteousness about business." Thus capitalism and practicability. There are thouconfesses its disregard for morality sands of men and women in every in industrial life. It divorces basi- state who would be heart and soul on with the Socialist movement did they the other hand, believes in the moral understand its principles and aims. law and advocates a system that But they have confused ideas on the

at once.

SPECIAL

We announce on page 19 a special "Woman's Edition" of THE VANGUARD for November. It is going to be a splendid issue. Some of the brightest women in the country are preparing articles for it. You should secure a good supply for distribution. Place orders early.

ABOUT RELIGION

In the minds of many persons, religion is altogether associated with theological dogmas and ecclesiastical vestments. But in truth it is as distinct from these things as substance is from shadow. The essence of religion is the lovalty of man to his deepest convictions of truth and duty. Assent to a creed or observance of ritual without actual righteousness amounts to "religiosity" merely. ion is quite another.

regard for fasts and fringes, tithes and petty priestly rules, while ne- with "religiosity." Religion true religion.

through ignorance or dishonesty, Thousands and thousands of persons misrepresent Socialism and mislead may be found regularly attending actheir readers. The remedy for this customed places of worship and recitis the circulation of Socialist period- ing traditional creeds who may also icals. THE VANGUARD is especially be found the other six days of the adapted to the work of Socialist ed- week utterly disregrading the simpucation. Get your inquiring open- lest requirements of Christian ethics minded neighbor to subscribe for it and deliberately sanctioning and perpetuating social customs and business methods which involve the grossest and cruelest wrongs against their fellows. Their professions and positions in the uppermost seats in the churches are ridiculous and disgusting in view of their attitude and acttion in the industrial and political arena.

> So far as the teaching of Jesus gives any definition of religion, it consists in the Christ-spirit of honesty and love, sympathy and justice in all the relations of life. Churches and creeds are of value only so far as they stand for the Golden Rule as the working law of life here and now; not as an "iridescent dream" or beautiful ideal to be realized in some distant future, but as the actual basis on which our industrial and political institutions may rest, upon which they must rest to be rational and enduring. To build on any other foundation is, as Jesus said, to build on the sand.

Unless our religious teachers and And "religiosity" is one thing; relig- organizations devote themselves to this end, their so-called Christianity This is a distinction that Jesus was is but a travesty of the Gospel of careful to draw and emphasize. In- Christ and their Sunday performances deed, this is the heart of the Gospel. merit only the contempt expressed in He saw men exercising a scrupulous the phrase, "the puerilities of piety."

Do not let us confound real religion glecting the weightier matters of vital force making for righteouness every-day justice and square dealing. among men. It is the divinely hu-They had an abundance of "religi- mane impulse that has filled men with osity" but they were almost if not al- a passion for truth and freedom and together void of the first elements of larger life through all the ages. It is the secret of the power of men to The same thing is common today, speak and suffer and die, if needs be,

in the service of their fellows. It is language as did Jesus in denouncing the supreme motive that lies back of the cruelties perpetrated by the rich the Socialist movement of today; and this is why the Socialist movement is "irresistible."

DON'T "BE SATISFIED"

"These words." said Pope Pius, "are the first that I address to the Romans. BE SATISFIED WITH YOUR CONDITION."—Associated Press Dispatch, Sept. 3.

Such is the emasculated remnant of the message of Jesus proclaimed by the new head of the church of Rome at the beginning of his reign. dressing a body of workingnen, he said, "I represent Christ. . . . Christ is the advocate of the workingmen." He then went on to say that the wage earner is to find his true pleasure in being satisfied with his lot, "shedding sweetness about him."

and the heartless bell in sentimentality hypocrisy of the ades under the name of Christianity? directed at him part of miserable curs thankful for the morsels that fall from their masters' tables.

growing discontent with every social and in condoning agitator ever used such scathing with "long continued applause?"

and "religious" against the working people of his day. And the Socialist movement which is spreading so rapidly in our time is due to the increase of the Christ-spirit among men and is nothing else than a demand for the real religion of Jesus instead the craft and graft of time-serving churchmen.

PULPIT TOADYISM

Mr. Campbell referred to his pride of the Empire and said that Queen Victoria has gone, but her son remains, and with all the criticism that has been directed at him, he would not exchange King Edward for any sovereign on earth, or for any president on either side of the water. (Long continued applause.) He did not believe in radicalism, but preferred that things should remain as they are, so long as their rulers, remain true. they are, so long as their rulers remain true.

The above is taken from the To-Could anything more fully exhibit ronto World's report of an address dethe wretched imbecility, the mawkish livered by the Rev. Reginald J. Camp-Bond St. Congregational ecclesiasticism, church, Toronto. Mr. Campbell knows whether Catholic or Protestant, that perfectly well what manner of man preaches such a gospel while it par- king Edward is, that the criticism has Christ is indeed the advocate of the that his record is that of a rake, that workingmen but the Roman pontiff if he stood upon his merits as a man as well as the clergy of all denomina- he would be adjudged unfit for decent tions utterly misrepresent the Car- society. The late Dr. Joseph Parker. penter of Nazareth when they put Mr. Campbell's predecessor in City such teaching in his mouth. Christ Temple, on several occasions publicly never preached the degrading and arraigned Edward for his immoral enslaving doctrine that men should conduct, and he is the same Edward be content to remain under burdens still. As a ruler he "remains true" to imposed by the greedy and powerful, his old way of living. Yet Mr. Campallowing their wives and children to bell prefers him to any sovereign or be sacrificed to mammon and act the president on earth. Pretty hard on the rulers, to be sure; but it illustrates the extent to which even the liberal minded among the clergy will go The gospel of Christ is a gospel of in subserviency to godless aristocracy the wrong. The most Christlike thing in the ruling class. And what can be our civilization today is the intense said of the ethical ideals of a congreand increasing dissatisfaction that is gation of Christian people who greet manifest on every side. No social the pulpit eulogy of a notorious roue

THE POINT OF VIEW

To be looked up to, honored and respected,
And draw an income from the class subjected;
To grasp a measure of superior power—
Through wealth, or law, or what seems mental dower—
And feel in worth above one's serving neighbors
As much as one can profit by their labors;
To live secure from want, with cultured classes,
And give employment to the landless masses:
So to be served and saved makes class and station
Seem natural, and good for all creation.

* * *

To be looked down on—reckoning worth by wages;
To work and want through all life's hopeless ages;
Long hours, long years to toil among wealth makers,
And still remain dependent on its takers;
To sweat for others who yet do not love us;
Creating incomes for the ranks above us;
To live a treadmill life, with narrow pleasures,
Unthrilled by art, and wanting all its treasures:
So with the rich to rank in correlation,
Seems not so fair and fine for all creation

-GEORGE HOWARD GIBSON.

TRUE RELIGION

By FRANCIS EDGAR MASON

T

HE world needs a practical religion, one that deals with the common affairs of life, and not a religion in the skies. The religions of the hour are not practical. We have simply been juggling with ecclesiastical conundrums and metaphysical abstractions, which have subserved no purpose, save to sever the family. We have been bickering over the personality of God when the only rational definition and interpretation of God is: God is Good, or God is Love. We have simply failed to teach humanity that the only religion is service to humanity; the practising of the Golden Rule. The religion of the hour does not reach the masses. It does not im-

prove the social status; it makes men pious, but does not educate them in those things which count for the general good of all. Religions abound in superstition, mysticism, and speculations, which subserve no purpose in the redemption of man. We shall yet discover the fact that true religion is service to humanity. There is no pospel better than kindness, no ritual purer than goodness, no communion holier than patience, no baptism more divine than unity, and no god grander than a pure noble man. A religion founded upon any thing but kind acts and generous deeds is a burlesque. Ye shall know them by their fruits, said the Man of Galilee, and until we manifest God by demonstrating the spirit of God, he will remain a religious

hermit and man will suffer the penalty of pain, poverty and imperfection. We follow the letter of the Scriptures and not the spirit, and Christ is merely a religious fetich, when he should become actually embodied in each individual.

MISUNDERSTOOD

By JOHN STONE PARDEE

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long pravers.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye pay tithe of mint, anise and cummin and have omitted the weightier matters of the law .- Judgment, mercy and faith: these ought ye to have done and not to leave the other undone.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.

Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye are like unto whited sepulchers, which indeed appear beautiful outward but are within full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees. hypocrites: for ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchers of the righteous,

And say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.



OMING from the meek and lowly Jesus, that is rather strong language. These scribes and Pharisees, then, must have been pretty bad men.

On the contrary. They were the very nicest people in Jerusalem. They were distinctly the better element. They were the wardens and vestry of Trinity, the stewards of the First Methodist, the elders of Westminster, the deacons of the Park Congregational. They were the pillars of society, the college presidents and trustees of boards. They were the men of unimpeachable probity and integrity. And this came from Jesus who was a Jew to the tip of his fingers.

No wonder he was crucified. If any clergyman today cares to make an interesting experiment, let him read that chapter from Matthew, lean over the edge of his pulpit, shake his finger in the face of the front pews and tell them. That means you, do you understand, you, you!

What was the offense of the scribes and Pharisees that brought this terrific denunciation?

It was not lawlessness. Outside the Brahmin castes there were never men who kept the law so scrupulously. They were not like those representatives of the better element who lie to the assessor; who juggle with franchises, who corrupt the legislatures and defy the courts. They were ever so much better than that.

It was not rottenness, like the frivolous decadence of the Four Hundred. They were painfully moral, and the way they kept the Sabbath made it a

They were not mean. They made it a point to give tithes, and that is

more liberal than Mr. Rockefeller, whose liberality is so prodigious that he has had a doxology sung to him by a national convention of a great church.

Their offense which brought this withering scorn, was simply that they stood for the established order of things. They insisted on their legal rights, their vested rights, that was all. They despised the poor. They gave alms, plentifully enough, but they sat fast in the social order that made the mass dependent.

They advised the poor to be temperate and thrifty and save their money. They held that anybody could be successful who would be prudent and economical. They said that God never intended that all men should be equal, and it was absurd to suppose anything of the kind; let them be content in the station to which it had pleased God to call them, and thankful to their betters for giving them good counsel and establishing soup kitchens in the time of stress. They were most exemplary citizens, patterns for their community. Jesus objected to the pattern.

They devoured widows' houses, but in the most respectable tashion. Mind you, the outside of the cup and platter was clean. They took nothing more than the law allowed, and the suggestion that it was robbery was wholly incomprehensible to them. Their conduct was absolutely correct. They had nothing to arbitrate, and they stood on clearly ascertained rights.

There may have been frauds and scallywags among them, but Jesus was not talking about them especially. He swept the whole class into his condemnation, and he referred pointedly to the most virtuous and righteous of them.

Why? Because they shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, the kingdom he came to proclaim, the reign of justice, the kingdom that was to come in earth as it shall be in heaven.

What else does he mean by omitting the weightier matter of the law, which is first of all judgment? It was not police court judgment that they neglected. They were right up on the front seat when it came to good government. They furnished the president and vice-president of the civic league. And if there had been a protective tariff in those days they would have been the foremost advocates of prosperity.

He meant social justice. Respectable, upright, kindhearted in a way, they stood for the perpetuation of injustice. And he came to establish the kingdom, the reign of the higher law, the state that is expressed by the brotherhood of man and founded on social justice.

They wouldn't have killed the prophets, oh, no. They did find it necessary to put down this disturber of the peace.

Gentlemen, scribes and Pharisees of today, members of the better element, that is to say: What is your attitude toward the prophets?

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WHO DON'T WANT SOCIALISM

BY JULIAN HAWTHORNE



LOOK for Socialism, or the spirit of America, to dominate and possess the earth:and I see no good reason why this result should not be reached soon. The thing will come whether we like it or not; it is not a matter for us to pick and choose. If it were a matter of choice, I would not be nearly so much at ease about it. And yet, if the question were put to the vote in this country (together with the proviso that the voters should have the faculty of comprehending the propositions submitted to them)—Are you in favor of Socialism?—I should expect a negative answer from the following persons or classes only:

First, from all thie es, with the possible exception of those legally catalogued as such, with photographs in the Rogues' Gallery actually or prospectively; for these thieves are made such by social and industrial injustice, and if they understood that Socialism would eradicate abuses of this sort, they might be willing to come in:-but including three-fourths (let us be charitable and say) of legislators and other administrative officials, because they are blind hogs for power and wealth and the worldly consideration they bring: and a yet larger proportion of office-holders or employes, because having sold their souls for a livelihood, they fear to irritate those who have bought them; and captains of industry, all but a handful. I wish I had space to tell you of a talk I recently had with one of these gentlemen, who exclaimed, among other things, with heroic gestures, "And do you suppose, for one moment, that if ever it did come to a question of force between labor and capital, that capital would fail to crush labor to the earth once and for all?" Pretty near, but not quite all these gentry, I say, would vote in the negative with a will.

Then, practically all men of considerable wealth, who mean to bequeath the same to their unhappy offspring; and I cannot except artificial and dramatic freaks like Andrew Carnegie, in comparison with whose hat a sieve would be air tight, so volubly does he discourse through it; let him heap libraries and universities heaven high, he will never persuade me or anybody else that he will come to the honest point where he would be obliged to touch a friend for five.

Next, old ladies, no sex barred, will be in the opposition, for they dislike rude behavior and loud noises and lack of consideration for respectability and reverence for tradition. Socialism will ultimately, no doubt, include these desiderata; but there is going to be an interval during which we may think the bottom is falling out of things and the roof falling in. Democracy, in its first accost, is doubtless repulsive.

Next, I count as anti-Socialistic more than two-thirds of the parsons; the majority of those on our side would be identical with the individuals who are in danger of being read out of the church for heresy. The social and political record of the clergy is as a whole very disappointing to those who expected anything better of them. The church is in the narrow straight of Socialism; but the clergy contrive somehow to keep out of Christianity to a surprising degree, or at all events away from the marrow

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of it.

Are there any others? Probably; but let these suffice; you perceive that we have left the bulk of the human race. If ninety-nine per cent of the population own, as some statistician announces, one-fourth only of the national wealth, we may rest assured that our foes will never be in the majority. And some folks would be astonished to discover how many persons of seemingly the strictest respectability and quiet propriety are at heart the most rampant Socialists. I have picked up elderly physicians, of large practice, not to mention numbers of esteemed scientific gentlemen, fathers of families, persons of gigs and broadcloth, who would, confidentially utter sentiments which you and I would not venture to countenance fully. I would look aside at the Turkey rugs on the floor and the Sargent pictures on the walls and think, "Can such things be?" But it so it is. And I suppose those who are not against us, may be counted with us.

AMBITION AND INVENTIVE GENIUS

By A. M. DEWEY, Special Agent U. S. Dept. of Labor.



OULD not Socialism stifle ambition, and result in the extinguishment of all inventive genius?" asks the man who has himself created many useful inventions, while some one else has profited by them. He fears that Socialism will throttle the energies of such as he.

Why should ambition or inventive genius be stifled by the guarantee of comfort and plenty which is proposed in the co-operative commonwealth? As well assume that the great artist who produces an Angelus while living in comfort, surrounded by conditions which inspire the best that is in a human soul, would have produced a better picture had he

lived in a garret, with hunger and abject poverty for his daily companions, while wife and children cried for bread. This might be true were money the only inspiration to effort. But who ever heard of an inventor, a painter, a sculptor, or a composer of music or verse, who found his or her greatest inspiration in the hope of financial reward? Did any man or woman ever perform an act of heroism or sacrifice for money alone? If they did, the writer does not know of it.

Socialism would not stifle ambition or inventive genius. On the contrary, the conditions made possible for every man would furnish the greatest incentive to ambition and genius in the world. But it might somewhat change the bent of these desires. The brains of men would not then be employed to devise schemes for fleecing the people out of what they possessed, for the purpose of building up the wolves at the expense of the lambs, as now. Man's greatest inspiration would be found in creating something which would add to the welfare and happiness of his fellows.

How does the inventor fare to-day under the system of competition. There are more than 1,000 patents issued by the patent office each week in the year, yet the number of men or women who have realized a competence for themselves from their efforts can be counted on the fingers of the two hands. Elias Howe died comparatively poor. Morse ditto. Watt, Steven-

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son and Fulton were also poor men at the time of death. The inventor of the block signal system, in use on many railroads, died in a mad-house, crazed because no corporation could be induced to try his invention, and after his death several railroads adopted it at once as the very best possible device to avoid rear end collisions on double track roads. Mergenthaler, the inventor of the typesetting machine bearing his name, died comparatively poor in Baltimore two years ago. But his machine was not accepted as a labor saver until Robert Shuckers, a Chicago printer, invented what is known to printers as the wedge-shaped space, for automatically justifying the lines of matrices set up by the operator. A corporation is said to have made thirty millions of dollars already out of this machine. Shuckers himslf is an employee in one of the departments at Washington as a clerk, at a very ordinary salary. He failed to secure recognition from the corporation making the machine, and sold his rights for a paltry thousands dollars to another concern.

Edison, than whom no man ever achieved greater success as an inventor, is a comparatively poor man.

And so it with the inventors of the cotton gin, the power loom, the rotary pump, the compressed air drill, and many other of the most useful products of the brain of man. Under Socialism the inventor would himself reap the full reward of this effort, and be given a place in a Hall of Fame just in proportion as his invention was of value to society.

Do you not think there would be in such a system sufficient incentive to stimulate every man or woman to their best efforts?

WHAT REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM MEANS

By CARL D. THOMPSON.



OCIALISM is not a reform, it is a revolution. This is the position held by all scientific Socialists everywhere. But such a statement made without explanation with a non-Socialist or in a lecture to an ordinary audience is certain to be misunderstood. When the word "revolution" is spoken the common run of people think of violence, of bloodshed, of armies and navies. It does not matter what the "scientific and "dictionary" definition of the term is, common people don't carry an unabridged dictionary with them as a rule To use the term without explanation is to get one's self and one's cause seriously misunderstood. And sometimes while

listening to the speech of Socialists one cannot but feel that they are not always entirely clear themselves as to just what is meant by the expression "revolutionary Socialism."

And yet we need some designation that shall distinguish us as Socialists from those who merely wish to patch up the present system and keep it. The old parties, every one, and new ones, every day springing up, all claim to be reformers. And they really do advocate reform measures. How, then, can we Socialists distinguish ourselves from them? There is certainly a radical difference. It is to make the point of difference clear

and to distinguish sharply between all such programs and Socialism that the Socialists use the term "revolutionary." We are not "reformers"—we are "revolutionists."

What, then, is meant by the term?

And first of all, let it be clearly understood everywhere that by revolution Socialists do not mean violence or bloodshed. It is safe to say that every scientific Socialist in the world would regard it a calamity to the cause, as well as to humanity, to have a violent upheaval in society. The future may see violence and war, as has the past. Our present social problem may involve this Nation and others in serious trouble, but it is quite evident that if such should be the case it would be not the result of the teaching of Socialism, but rather the result of the refusal of the rulers to accept the Socialistic program. For Socialism offers a possible, a peaceful solution.

So, then, by "revolutionary Socialism" we do not mean an appeal to arms. We mean by "revolutionary Socialism" the capture of the political powers of the Nation by the working class as opposed to the capitalistic class. This is the essence of revolutionary Socialism. Whoever sees clearly and holds firmly the necessity of the "organization of the working class and those in sympathy with them into an independent political party, distinct from and opposed to all capitalistic parties to capture the powers of government" in order to carry out the principles of Socialism; whoever holds this position is a revolutionary Socialist. On the other hand, the one who thinks we are to get Socialism through any of the old political parties, or without organizing a new, Socialist party, that person is not a revolutionary Socialist; and, indeed, it seems to the writer is not a Socialist at all.

"The conquest of political power by a new class, in this lies the essential difference between revolution and reform," says Carl Kautsky, in his new book, "The Social Revolution." (See pp. 8, 9 ff.) "Those who repudiate political revolution as the principle means of social tranformation, or wish to confine this to such measures as have been granted by the ruling class are social reformers, no matter how much their social ideas may antagonize existing social forms. On the contrary, any one is a revolutionist who seeks to conquer the political power for an hitherto oppressed class, and he does not lose this character if he prepares and hastens this conquest by social reforms wrested from the ruling class. It is not the striving after social reforms, but the explicit confusing of one's self to them, which distinguishes the social reformer from the social revolutionist."

These are exact and discriminating words, and, it seems to me, state exactly the truly sicentific Socialist's position. And this ought to settle the question as to whether or not one is a revolutionary (and therefore scientific) Socialist. It is not to be decided by the amount of property one owns, or does not own, nor by the kind of clothes he wears, nor by the profession he followed before becoming a Socialist, nor by the kind of religion or irreligion he may profess—but by the very simple and direct question: Does he believe in the independent political party to capture the powers of government by a hitherto oppressed class as a means of securing Socialism? If he does, he is a revolutionary Socialist? And that ends it.

The mistakes of the best men, through generation after generation has been that great one of helping the poor through alms-giving, and through preaching patience and hope, and by every other means, emollient and consolatory, except the one thing God orders for them, Justice—RUSKIN.

The Trend of Thought

Rev. H. S. JOHNSON Warren Ave, Baptist Church, New York.

If the church wishes to maintain her power with the masses of the people in the time of industrial conflict which is before us, she must repudiate all ill-gotten money, the history of which is of common knowledge. The church's failing popularity with the laboring men is due in large measure to her reputation for economic injustice.

Bishop John L. Spaulding, Roman Catholic, Peoria, III.

We have means enough. We can do without capitalists who come among us and live on the blood of human beings. The cause of labor, if rightly understood, is the cause of humanity. What labor desires first of all is not charity, but justice. We Americans are using up too rapidly the resources of nature and we are using up too rapidly human lives. One of the greatest fallacies of the age is that money is equivalent to human lives. Wages are never the full equivalent for human work.

HENRY DEMOREST LLOYD, Winnetka, III.

Child labor is increasing in Illinois and the country at large by leaps and bounds. An army of 1,750,000 little men and little women is marching every morning into our factories—some of them, worse yet, go in at night! Our industrial system is a heart which pumps in and out every day a stream of youthful blood, steadily growing feebler, darker and more degenerate. Dissipated smokers have the tobacco heart. Our civilization has the factory heart.

Rev. E. MARSHALL, Garnett, Kas.

The present competitive system is un Christian. The whole commercial system, from the ownership of more land than one needs for the proper use to supply necessities, to the exclusion of others from the privilege of making homes, through the whole catalogue of natural resources of human subsistence and comfort, is opposed to God and to His eternal law of love, and is fraught with the most mischievous and disastrous consequences to the social system. It breeds every form of crime, and in it are found the cause of all wars.

Rev. RALPH ALBERTSON, Lewiston, Me.

Our industrial system makes it profitable to steal. It puts a premium upon political and industrial infidelity. It provides for robbery to lead to glory, on condition merely that the robbery be big enough and be accompanied with bamboozle. It discounts manhood to effect a higher valuation for merchandise. It sacrifices character for success. Success is its god, and of course whatever is done for the glory of its god is passsed over, however cruel and contemptible it may be in the light of pure reason and natural ethics.

Prof. FRANK PARSONS, Boston University.

The American people would be indignant if anyone should charge them with favoring royalty, creating and sustaining dukes, marquises and earls, or meekly submitting to titled aristocrats of any grade. There would be a revolution if Congress should confer the title of lord, or duke or earl on Vanderbilt, Gould, Rockefeller, Morgan, Sage, etc. Lord Gould, Lord Rockefeller, Duke Morgan and the rest would soon find the country too warm for their habitation. Yet the essence of royalty and aristocracy is not in the title, but in the overgrown power which one man possesses over his fellows. A Congress that grants railroad, telegraph and banking privileges to private individuals, establishes a far more powerful and therefore more dangerous aristocracy than any that could possibly be created by the mere bestowal of titles of nobility.

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BRIEF TALKS ON SUGGESTION

By A. C. Halphide, M. D.

Introductory



many letters from per- icine. sons, interested in sug-

considerable task as an answer in full for each questioner would involved. Therefore, it thought that such answers through the columns of THE VANGUARD would be acceptable to the correspondents, and not without interest to other readers of this magazine.

The questions that have been received, and others that are likely to come anon, will be taken up in the order which seems the most natural and expedient to the writer.

WHAT ARE THE SCOPE AND VALUE OF SUGGESTIVE THERAPEUTICS? The word therapeutics is derived from the Greek therapeuo, which means to serve and by adaptation it has come to be applied, not only to the one who serves, but, to the thing administered as well: so in medical literature it denotes that department science that relates to the treatment of diseases, and the action of the remedies upon the human organism, both in health and disease. limits therapeutics to the use of suggestion, so we will examine that term

*For further announcement of this valuable book, which is for sale by The Vanguard failure. Press, see page 20-EDITOR.

HE writer has received its relation to the science of med-

The word suggestion is derived therapeutics, from the Latin sub-gero, which means who have done him the to bring under, as, for instance, to honor to read his work bring under one's attention; thereon that subject, enti- fore, it may be defined as the imparttled,"Mind and Body."* ing or inciting a notion or an idea to These correspondents, the mind of another person, in such a up to the present time, way that the idea will be accepted have been very inade- and acted upon. Suggestion has dequately answered, for the reason veloped into an art within the last half that the writer did not have the time century, and may be divided into sevat his disposal required for such a eral branches, among which are the following: hypno-suggestion, autosuggestion, waking suggestion, sleeping-suggestion, and so forth, each branch depending for its name upon the manner or time of giving the suggestions. Hence, we say that suggestive therapeutics is the art of suggestion applied as an agent in the treatment of diseases.

> Having determined what suggestive therapeutics is, we are prepared to state its scope and value.

Suggestion is not a cure-all, neither is it a cure-nothing. It has its proper sphere, and the thoughtful physician will not be long in finding it. He will not attempt to apply it in setting broken and dislocated bones, or in other similar conditions requiring mechanical measures, except as an adjuvant to relieve pain, and secure a restful condition in the patient, of the but he would successfully use it for the relief of many nervous and mental diseases, habits, most functional diseases and organic diseases of psychical origin. Suggestion has a wide Suggestion field of application.

The physician who uses it to the exclusion of other remedies is unwise; and will certainly fail in many cases likewise, the one who neglects suggestion is equally unwise, and sure of failure. The physician should be broader than any system of therapeutics; so far as possible, he should make himself master of the whole

science of medicine.

The scope of suggestion is very extensive, and its value in therapeutics is equally great. A long experience with, and an extensive use of suggestive therapeutics in a general practice of medicine, justfles me in making this statement. If suggestion cures, and it certainly does in many cases of mental and nervous diseases and habits which are beyond the reach of other therapeutics agencies, it deserves warm praise, and a high valuation.

Suggestion is such a therapeutic, and in proper hands it has been the means of saving many such victims, and restoring their health, self-control and self-respect. This single example will suffice to indicate that the scope and value of suggestive therapeutics are sufficient to make it worth the physician's while to master and use it just as he does other therapeutics.

CAN ALL LEARN TO HYPNOTIZE AND USE SUGGESTIVE THERAPEUTICS? Hypnotism should be understood to mean something much narrower than suggestive therapeutics; it is simply one of the several methods of using suggestion. Some physicians never attempt to hypnotize their patients when giving suggestive treatments; they have them sit or lie in a relaxed, restful condition while they give them suggestions. All persons are suggestible to a greater or less degree; those who are more so are readily, by suggestion placed in a somolent condition called hypnotic sleep, or hypnosis.

The various methods of hypnotizing are suggestions given to induce hypnosis, and anyone with ordinary intelligence may easily learn to make them. A good book on the subject, little personal instruction will enable one to become a hypnotist, and experience will do the rest. use of suggestive therapeutics is not difficult; it consists largely in giving wise advice to the patients in such a manner that they will accept and act upon it. A good work is essential. and all that is necessary to an understanding and a successful use of suggestive therapeutics. No physician is excusable for not understanding and using suggestion.



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Under the cloak of charity what fraud! what injustice! what lies what mockery of God! what damnation!-VICTOR HUGO.

There is one large thing for which small minds always find room, and that is great prejudices-Lowell.

People wish to be settled. Only so far as they are unsettled is there any hope for them. - EMERSON.

To admit that because things have long gone wrong, it is impossible to make them go right, is a most fatal doctrine.-Ruskin.

The difference between the highwayman and the captain of industry is just this: In exploiting mankind the former generally draws the line at children.-M. WINCHEVSKY.

The conservative thinks he conserves when he clings to the old form; but the reformer is the real conserver for he has detected the old vitality under the renewed form .- CONWAY.

Individual salvation is a lie born of a selfish heart, and when we most think we are out of the mire, the arm of the Most Neglected reaches up from the pit and drags us back, into the dark.—FRANKLIN H.WENT-WORTH.

The community that will not allow its humblest citizen freely to express his opinion, no matter how false or odious the opinion may be, is only a gang of slaves.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

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FALSE TEACHINGS.

TO THE EDITOR:

That distinguished scholar, the late Rev. Dr. Issac M. Wise, founder of that great paper The American Israelite and for many years its editor, a few months before his death wrote of the Nazarene as follows: "Jesus' teachings were unpaltable to the average man of the nations, so they distorted them until they have no semblance to the original. To make amends for neglect of his lessons they deify the teacher, hoping, we believe vainly, that faith and blind worship will atone."

In spite of the overwhelming evidence and statements of the Nazarene that he was a prophet, belated and bigoted theologians continue to discredit the laws of the Eternal Equity and teach a demoralizing cult subversive of righteousness and justice. In the words of the Rabbi "they will vainly hope." "Justice only justice shalt thou pursue in order that thou mayest live." QUAKER. WAUESON, O.

THE VANGUARD.

TO THE EDITOR:

During my visit to Canada's great industrial fair this month (which by the way was the greatest fair she has ever held) I found THE VANGUARD was being given to those interested in progress and the comments elicited from those who had perused it were very encouraging. Mrs. Darwin, a zealous worker for Socialism said 'I welcome THE VANGUARD or it stands for the material requisites which are absolutely necessary to produce spiritual people." I found W. H. Evans of Toronto, (who keeps one of the neatest and most progressive book stores in that city) could not speak to highly of the THE VANGUARD. fully believe that subscriptions will come in rapidly from Canada. As you know, I have done all in my power to extend your subscription list in Cleveland. I feel it is deserving of every honest man's support. May you continue to spread the Gospel which will soon bring about a "Heaven on Earth." Fraternally Yours

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Notes of Progress

The Coming Nation Van No.2.began work in Ohio on Sepember 20, and the comrades there expect to use it very effectively during the fall campaign.

The Socialists carried Anaconda, Mont., at the last election, electing nearly all the city officers. The capitalist officers refused to surrender the offices, and at the bidding of the great smelter companies inaugurated a reign of practical anarchy. The Socialists carried the matter into the courts, and have succeded in seating their officers.

The Minnesota Socialist van, in charge of Conrades Guy E. Etherton and Geo. I. Martin has been doing valiant service for the cause during the summer season. Of the outlook in that state, Comrade Etherton writes: "I believe there is no place in the country where Socialism is making more rapid growth than among the Minnesota farmers. The power of intimidation by the capitalistic masters is not so direct. They will soon be with us, a great and aggressive host."

According to the latest official returns the Socialist vote in the recent German election amounts to 3,011,114. The Socialists have 81 members in the Reichstag, a gain of 23. Were it not for gerrymandering the Socialist representation would be considerably larger,

At the International Socialist Bureau which meets semi-annually at Brussels, the Socialist party of the United States was this year represented by H. Gaylord Wilshire, the editor and proprietor of Wilshire's Magazine. Mr. · Wilshire reports a very enthusiastic and successful meeting. Sessions were held in the committee rooms of the Maison du Peuple, the great building built and owned by the Socialist party of Brussels.

The progress of Socialism in Japan is shown by the increasing literature on Socialist subjects. Among the recent publications is a book on "Mun- The VANGUARD PRESS, Green Bay, Wis.

icipal Socialism" by Comrade Katayama, editor of the Japanese organ "The Socialist," and a book entitled "The Oppression of Wealth" by another editor of the same paper. A series of translations from German Socialist literature has appeared. Prof. Matvuzaki has published a book on "The History of German Socialism." "The Socialist" reports that all the larger daily journals and reviews are publishing scientific series of articles on Socialism.

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Of THE VANGUARD-November. See particulars on page 19. **WOMAR'S EDITION** Order your extra copies early.

HOT SHOT

One might as well have told a slave to save his rations and become a master as tell a workingman to save his wages and himself become a capitalist.-BEN HANFORD.

Yes, social_sm would divide up. We would divide up the work so that Cholly, Clawence, Algie and all the other shirkers would have a chance to develop their flabby muscles .-THE TOILER.

Senator Dolliver says: "The country is getting uncomfortably full of schools of social science." I imagine one George III, of England, might have made a similar remark something over a hundred years ago.-Los ANGELES SOCIALIST.

Every man who possesses that for which he has not given an equivalent has wealth that does not belong to him. If he gave an equivalent he could only have as much wealth as he had created. Men do not accumulate riches by giving equivalents but by giving less than they receive—and that is robbery. - APPEAL TO REASON.

Some fool paper asks what share of his production the laborer is entitled Say, wouldn't that iar We'd like to have some profound student of economic questions inform us by what right or rule of equity or justice anyone else has any right to any of it. What right has one man to the product of another unless he has rendered an equivalent in something of his own production? Why should the working man be used as a catspaw to rake the chestnuts out of the fire for the capitalistic monkey? WIIY?-PUEBLO COURIER.

This money that Carnegie is giving away-no, not giving away; rather he is buying his name into 'immortality" with it-do you imagine that it comes out of no one, that it just grows in his pocket? Get over that idea as quick as you can; it does nothing of the sort. It is produced by the cracking backs of toilers in this country, who give the best years of their lives to the work. His millions are simply loot, capitalistic loot, nothing more nor less. It is no more his than the world's supply of oil is Rockefeller's. And yet Parry talks of brigandage!-Social DEMOCRATIC Get us a HERALD.

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Varieties

He stole a tart from the baker's cart-"Oh, what a thief!" they cried. They sent him to jail without any bail, And published it far and wide. He stole some gold (a million cold) They said. "What a financier!" They set him on high with worshipful eye,

And hustled his past to the rear.

A member of the Austrian Secret Police, being on his way home after midnight, observed a placard on a street lamp.

"Ha, those scoundrels of Socialists have posted a placard denouncing his

Majesty!" said he to himself.

Being determined to destroy the placard, he climbed painfully up the lamp post and having secured the treasonable document, read:

"Wet paint!"

Toward the end the sermon got uninteresting and several persons went to sleep, among whom was Brother Jones, one of the "pillars." At the close the preacher bowed his head, closed his eyes and said: "Brother Jones will please lead us in prayer."

No response. (A little louder.) "Brother Jones

will lead us in prayer."

Still no response. Then the preacher, looking up, saw Brother Jones asleep in the corner and bawled out the one word, "Lead."

Brother Jones awoke with a start Creek, Mich. and, looking around all confused. said: "Tain't my lead; I just dealt."

Enlightened the Lawyer.

a laborer?" said a lawyer to a plainly dressed witness.

"You are right. I am a working man, sir," replied the witness, who was a civil engineer.

"Familar with the use of the pick,

shovel and spade, I presume?"

"To some extent. These are not the principal implements of my trade, though."

"Perhaps you will condescend to enlighten me as to your principal im-

plements?"

"It is hardly worth while. You don't understand their nature or use."

"Probably not," loftily, "but I insist on knowing what they are,"

"Brains."

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The VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray, Yet newer strength we borrow, And where the vanguard camps today, The rear shall rest tomorrow.

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., NOVEMBER, 1903.

NO. 3.

Women, as a class, have been the world's chief toilers; it is a world-old proverb that "their work is never done." But the value put upon that work is pointedly illustrated in the reply given by an ancient Seminole to one of our white-ribboners who visited the reservation of that tribe in Florida, where she saw oxen grazing and a horse roaming the pasture, while two women were grinding at the mill, pushing its wheels laboriously by hand. Turning to the old Indian chief who sat by, the temperance woman said, with pent-up indignation: "Why dont you yoke the oxen or harness the horses and let them turn the mill?" The "calm view" set forth in his answer contains a whole body of evidence touching the woman question. Hear him: "Horse cost money; ox cost money; squaw cost nothing."

There is a world of philosophy in the phrase; for by the laws of mind, each person in a community is estimated according to his relation to the chief popular standard of value. Today, in this commercial civilization of ours, money is that standard. Hence the emancipation of woman must come, first of all, along industrial lines. It is only through financial freedom, that she will rise to that truer freedom which is the measure of all faculties in trained, harmonious, and helpful exercise.—Frances E. Willard,

This month's VANGUARD is a spe-boners today it would be to urge them cial "Woman's Edition" devoted to to deal frankly and courageously with the discussion of Socialism from the the economic problem and to enlist in woman's standpoint. Our contribu- this great world-movement for the tors are able and earnest women, emancipation of the race which she Their articles cover a wide range of so well characterized as "the very We urge all fathers and home-lovers to read what pel." is said on the relation of Socialism to the most vital and sacred interests of vou can afford to ignore or treat with of Philadelphia unintentionally made half-heartedness this

years, Miss Willard expressed herself ed: as in full accord with the Socialist movement. This issue of THE VAN-GUARD contains a considerable number of excerpts from Miss Willard's "But what, in the name of high heaven, have you to say today when you read of white women, white daughters of white parents, being sold into a hell of the most cursed slavery right in our very midst, right in our own city?" published addresses showing her wide grasp of the industrial sit- honesty, did not Mr. Yates go on and uation and her clear understanding state the cause of such diabolism? of the trend of events. It is not What, in the name of high heaven, do too much to say that in this direction so many pulpits mean by dodging the lay her "unfinished work" and that if simple fact that the profit system is

mothers, marrow and fatness of Christ's Gos-

That was a terrible arraignment of life. Then ask yourselves whether capitalism which Rev. W. N. Yates movement in a recent sermon. He recalled the which seeks the protection of the horrors of negro slavery with its aucfamily and the betterment of society. tion block which so often parted children from their parents and husbands In her public utterances for many from their wives. Then he demand-

But, why, in the name of common she were to speak to the white-rip- responsible for the enslaving of child-

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nood, the debauching of womanhood and the destruction of the home? The same papers which daily contain reports of the sale of women and children into "hells of the most cursed slavery right in our very midst" announce with flare head-lines, "Unparalelled Prosperity," "Every Line of Business Booming." Verily! This is the kind of prosperity capitalism breeds, the kind that pays dividends, no matter at what cost to human life.

Mayor Jones, of Toledo, in a recent address said: "In Toledo I can secure any of you ladies present a first-class baby girl or baby boy, of any color you may desire-white, black-brown or vellow-simply by the asking. But if you want a second-class pup you will have to pay from \$5 to \$50 for it. Friends, what do you think of a civilization that values pups above Socialism will reduce the price of pups and raise the value of babies.

Father Hagerty, in a recent address, stated the economic situation in the form of a startling question to the workingman's wife. He said: "Suppose you would find out that your husband is buying silk dresses and diamonds for some other man's wife and would buy you only calico dresses and no jewelry? How would you like it? This is exactly what the working man is doing. He toils for one-sixth of what he produces so as to buy silks and diamonds for the capitalist's wife. while his own wife must be satisfied with calico dresses." It is time for the workingman's wife to "strike" against such an iniquitous and shocking system. Socialism will put an end to this kind of "dividing up" and it should receive the loyal support of every woman who believes in fair play to her sex.

ONE WOMAN'S CONVICTION

It is not too much to say that no woman in America ever had such a large and enthusiastic following as Frances E. Williard, and no woman was ever more deserving of the love and loyalty of her comrades. The quotations from her addresses which we print this month are significant utterances, not only as indicating the great heart of this woman in her sympathy with oppressed humanity. but as evidencing the breadth of her vision and the growing conviction which possessed her intellect and soul regarding the problem of the twentieth century. They show that her eyes were open to the trend of events and of human thought in these new days. And had she lived it is certain she would have given yet more of her wonderful energy to the cause of Socialism which she declared to be "God's way out of the wilderness and into the Promised Land."

It would be interesting to know the mental process by which this gifted and ardent advocate of temperance and social purity was led to a frank avowal of Socialism when the movement was looked upon with suspicion and met with hostility on all sides. But doubtless her method of reaching her conculsion was not different from that of the increasing number who are giving their allegiance to this cause.

Miss Willard saw through things. She looked beneath the surface and recognized the fact that the sore spots that plague our civilization are but symptoms of the deep-rooted disease which affects the whole body politic, namely capitalism. It was Miss Willard's contention in her later years that intemperance, as well as being the cause of poverty, was its effect, and that there is no more pro-See something of special interest page 24. lific source of vice and crime than

the misery and destitution in which so elevation of motherhood, childhood, the most rational means by which to temperance and woman many vices which flourish under the this greater movement. them to the point where they fall a half-way measures. able and legitimate or disreputable and illegal."

Therefore, we may say that Miss Willard's acceptance of Socialism was the most natural thing in the world. It was the logical and inevitable result of her clear and honest thinking and her acceptance of patent economic facts. And we are persuaded that it would also be the natural, logical, inevitable position which thousands of women would reach if they would but lay aside their prejudices and do some clear honest it should have my life!" exclaimed thinking But thinking, as Emerson said, is the hardest task in the world, and too many women as well as men prefer not to trouble themselves with the undertaking. On the other hand, we fearthere are many women, like many of the clergy, who appear unwilling to candidly investigate Socialism lest they should be convinced of its truth and feel morally bound to give it their support, possibly at the sacrifice of ease and social prestige.

But whatever may be the reason that many women take little interest may be obtained while the edition lasts at in a movement which means the the rate of 8 copies for 25 cents.

many multitudes of people are combone and family, it is a constant pelled to live. To relieve that des- surprise to us that those who were titution, therefore, seemed to her associated with Miss Willard in the reach not only the drink evil but the movements remain so indifferent to

baneful influence of want and receive In advocating Socialism, Miss Willtheir impulse from the system which ard was no "visionary" enthusiast, produces want. She sought and carried away by a an "iridescent found the root of all evil to be the dream" of the impracticable. The real profit system which grinds the people "visionary" is one who looks for subbetween two mill-stones, which pushes stantial good to be obtained by petty, Miss Willard prey to the demons of drink and lust, recognized the futility of all such and are here again the victims of efforts so long as social conditions recapitalistic greed which reaps a main unchanged. She looked beyond second harvest out of their shame and the mere triumph of a specific "resuffering. "Profit is the cause of the form" to the general reorganization saloon, of the brothel, of the gamb- of society which should include all ling den, whether they be respect- other reforms. She saw that no abatement of intemperance would be permanent until those general conditions were first established which would of necessity carry with them such abatement. In other words, she regarded the "social revolution" as the larger object to be worked towards and as involving every minor reform. And if the men and women who desire the betterment of society in various directions would devote their thought and energies to the Socialist movement, the ends which they now seek would be secured far more quickly and their permanency more certainly assured.

"Oh, that I were young again, and Miss Willard shortly before her death. Will not the women of the white ribbon army respond to these words of their noble leader? We appeal to them to take up the cause which lay so near her heart. We appeal to all the women of the land to unite in demanding that the accursed system which breeds intemperance, poverty, child-labor, prostitution and every form of crime shall give way to the Co-operative Commonwealth, of which Miss Willard said; "Nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.'

Extra copies of this issue of The Vanguard

SOCIALIST PRAYER

Give us this day our daily bread, O God! Not for my bread alone I selfish pray. Such prayer would never reach thy loving ear; Such prayer my human lips refuse to say.

I pray for those whom thou hast given me here—
All men and women to be one with me,—
To soothe, sustain and comfort, love and cheer,
And draw in loving service nearer Thee.

My sister suffers in a garret bare,
My brothers labor and grow faint and pine;
My baby wails—for food! I cannot bear it, God,
For all the babies in the world are mine!

Father, and they are Thine! I claim thine aid;
Thou needst must help us in our righteous cause!
Make strong our hands to tear Oppression down,
And build a world according to Thy laws!

I cannot eat my daily bread alone, Give none to me if these cannot be fed. With them I stand or fall, for we are one. Father, give all of us our daily bread.

-MARGARET HAILE.

Capital has learned the value of combination. Labor must learn it too, and the greatest number's greatest good must be the Christian's motto in this fight.—Frances E. Willard.

WOMEN UNDER CAPITALISM

By WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT.

PRESIDENT, WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION



OME there are who still maintain that, as women can not vote, politics do not concern them; but economic conditions directly affect those women who comprise one-fifth of our wageworkers and indirectly affect every woman in the land, since the social and industrial well-being of all humanity, without regard to sex, rises and falls together. Remembering that education, ethics, art and life are as dependent upon industrial conditions as are politics, let no woman say: "I'm not interested in economics." It is our duty to be thoroughly conversant with all which affects the welfare of our fellows.

Too often we hear outcries, from those who have never studied existing conditions, as to the probable influence of a Co-operative Commonwealth upon women and the home. This would be amusing were it not serious. A good physician diagnoses a case before he prescribes for it and it is well for us to have knowledge of the disease in the body politic, before we suggest any of the hundred and one "sure cures" recommended by

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those earnest reformers who fight weeds by killing stalks instead of roots. Some of us know the appalling nature of this festering sore; but a large majority are carelessly indifferent to their duty as "sister's keepers" and by their sins of omission add to the committed sins of those who legislate to continue the present state of affairs.

Yet those same thoughtless ones are greatly excited when they hear of famine and suffering abroad, unmindful of the Rev. Myron Reed's pithy: "We have no tears to export." Frequently they send to these foreign sufferers garments made in our sweatshops, by starving women! Strange? Not in a land where we shout for equality and celebrate its birthday (?) by decorating with flags whose girl-makers received less than six cents an hour while engaged in their manufacture. Are we smitten with a modern hypocrisy that we fail to note the self-evident? No, this is not a new human trait. Centuries ago a man waited long at the pool of Siloam. Today countless numbers wait, while multitudes pass heedlessly by.

Any unjust economic condition bears more heavily upon women than men, because women do not understand the gain of united action and being more individualistic, bear the brunt of individualism in the form of lower wages and worse surroundings. There are thousands of women in the U.S. whose weekly wage is less than \$1.50 for six days of long hours. The average wage of women-workers throughout the whole country is less than \$5 a week, yet fifteen per cent of our working-women have families dependent upon them. Women who are forced to work in the average factory and sweatshop are more to be pitied than if condemned to life imprisonment at hard labor, for they can not obtain even prison fare to maintain health and strength.

State Labor Commissioner Ratchford investigated conditions in Ohio (which is far from being our worst state as regards labor matters) and as his figures are not those of a reformer but a Republican, they may be studied with gain. His special agents interviewed 6,920 women employed in workshops and factories of Cincinnati, Columbus and Cleveland. Of these 5,924 were Americans and the average age was 21.8 years. They averaged 48 weeks' employment, 47½ hours per week, at an average weekly wage of \$4.83. Dependent upon them were 1,606 persons. Ratchford estimated that \$5.26 was the average living expense per person in that state. Is there nothing wrong when 8,526 people depend upon \$3.75 in an environment which necessitates the expenditure of a sum which exceeds it by \$1.76?

These figures take no account of those whose income is much less than three dollars. What of them? Basing my reply upon years of experience in the rescue work I say: this is one of the premiums which Capitalism puts upon prostitution.

At present one woman in every thirty-eight above the age of ten is living by the public sale of her womanhood—taking no account of those who "go astray" through their affections. Two-thirds of these cases are due, directly or indirectly, to poverty, so we have the strange spectacle of a Land of Wealth and Freedom in which one woman out of every fifty-seven has been starved into the worst form of slavery.

Is it any wonder that our court records are full of cases of theft; obtaining money under false pretenses, or blackmail committed by those

who deem these crimes a refuge from that which is worse? Nor must we forget that each year thousands of girls suicide to escape this evil. All these might be happy wives under proper economic conditions.

I have known (not heard, but known) eight girls to rent a room together; live through a cold winter without any fire, with no method of cooking except an oil stove; sleep on the floor, because they could not buy furniture: go to bed, week in and week out, without undressing, because they had not sufficient bedding to keep them warm; and live nearly three months at a time on corn-meal mush, without milk, molasses, or any other assistance toward making it palatable; all this that they might retain the one thing left to them—honor. These girls were all gently bred, well educated and worked six days of every week from seven in the morning until six at night, with a half hour nooning.

Of course some one will exclaim: "Why did they not appeal to charity?" Charity is bitter sauce and does not take the place of justice, even when offered. Besides some of us know that organized charity and organized humbug are synonyms.

The working-women of America are the grandest beings that the All-Father has yet put upon this planet; and the system which makes thousands of them live under the conditions which they endure is the most diabolical thing that has ever blotted the earth—and I do not except chattel slavery.

U. S. Labor Commission is authority for the assertion that one-third of our working women live in houses classed "very poor" and one-tenth of them work in shops characterized as "neglected and unhealthful." What sort of health will the generation born of these mothers have? THE VANGUARD appeals to a cultured class, so I venture to inquire whether any of my readers have ever been so situated that personal cleanliness was almost impossible for days. If so, imagine what it must be to dwell in the tenement districts of large cities, where whole families are huddled in a single room and there is an average of one bathtub to each 6,000 persons. What kind of animals could be bred with an equal disregard for sanitary conditions? What is the probable future influence of the children so reared? Yet this is one of the minor discomforts of the million and a half child-slaves in America.

Our civilization must finally be judged by its treatment of the poor. The system which traffics in the lives of children is legalized murder! This is one of woman's wrongs, because we can not disassociate woman from the homelife. Yet more fortunate mothers are callous regarding the horrors of work in cotton mills, breakers, factories and countless other places where babes toil. Is it because the mind of the unaccustomed can no more grasp the actualities than can they make concrete their idea of heaven and hell?

The five great menaces to womanhood are: the social evil, drunkenness of loved ones, wrecked childhood, decline of homelife and the ruined health of the sex. A large proportion of each of these evils is directly traceable to poverty, which in turn springs from the fact that workers receive only a small portion of what they create and are forced to buy their own productions at unfair prices. Prof. Clark. of Columbia University, prepared a chart showing the expenditure of the average worker's dollar: food 49½%; clothing 18½%; rent 15½%; fuel 4½%; leaving 12½% for every thing else.

Apply this to the average woman's wages and you will find that the "everything else" is procured by less than one per ceut of what she produces.

Yet they say women are not affected by politics!

Capitalism causes loveless marriages—in high life for social position in the middle classes to avoid entering the industrial world, in the lower strata as an escape when health has broken down through overwork. It prevents marriage in many cases where love is strong but poverty stronger. It create homes in which the stern realities of life have crowded, out all manifestations of the love which was and where the hard struggle for bare existence has deadened all happiness and contentment. It is to blame for families whose members are almost strangers to one another, because father and mother are forced to be absent all day, returning at night too weary to talk to the children or even to rise above the animal plane where food and sleep suffice; and worse conditions, where children support the parents, who are unable to obtain employment. It gives us tramps galore and the equivalent of a million and a quarter workers who are forced to be unemployed twelve months in the year. Because of it, less than seven per cent of the workers in large cities own property, while our railoads have been granted tracts equal to twelve states the size of New Jersey. It sells commodities paying starvation wages to the workers, 20% profits to manufacturers and 40 per cent to retailers—an indirect taxation exceeding any in the time of Geo. III; and food which is adulterated to swell profits. To it are traceable the social evil, the drink traffic wards of 30,000 suicides annually, a large proportion being due to poverty; nearly one-sixth of our population unable to read and write; steadily shortening span of life as we go downward in the economic scale; thousands of infants annually offered for adoption by mothers who are too poor to procure food for them and who must give away their own flesh and blood rather than see them starve—and mothers so bereaved live by an open grave.

Whose is the fault? Even Iceland provides for all the people and educates every child. These things exist in our land because men have not learned to reason and women are not awake. When women realize the gravity of the conditions which bind children and weaker sisters, they will demand a change. History shows that when women earnestly and concertedly demand anything, it is forthcoming.

We used to say intemperance was the cause of poverty. Now we have completed the circle of truth by saying poverty causes intemperance, and the under-paid, undersheltered, wage earning teetotaler deserves a thousand times more credit than the teetotaler who is well paid, well fed, and well sheltered. In the slums they drink to forget. We should make life something they would gladly remember, so would you. Our objects are the same. Let us clasp hands in the unity of spirit and the bond of peace.—Frances E. Willard.

The fact that three-fifths of this country's wealth is in the hands of one-eighteen-hundredth of our population; that the Labor Bureaus of two of our best states declare the average wages of workingmen are not enough to bring up families upon, even in the cheapest way, unless wife and children are also wage earners; the fact that the combinations of capital are bringing about the serfdom of labor—these and a score of others like them point to an industrial revolution. As Christians we ought steadily to proclaim that the golden rod of capital must blossom into a national flower that shall glorify the common roadside of the common people's life. If to teach this is to be a Socialist, then so let it be.—Frances E. Willard.



Frances Willard ON Socialism

Look about you, the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands.

But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a Socialist is just here.

I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition, through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrów and fatness of Christ's Gospel. It is Christianity applied.

The above in leaslet form, 35 c. a hundred, postpaid. Address, The Vanguard Press.

The December Vanguard will be a Christmas number, filled with facts, arguments and appeals suited to the season. If you want to help forward the time when "peace on earth, good-will among men" shall be realized, get your friends to subscribe now that they may receive our Christmas message.

WHO ARE THE NATION'S MOTHERS?

By ANNA A. MALEY,



HE term "man factory" will ring familiar to those who have read Mark Twain's "A Yankee in King Arthur's Court." No matter how the ingenious Yankee found or made opportunity to "expose the nineteenth century to the inspection of the sixth." Accept the Yankee. He did it very well and cleverly, and found, back in the dim days of the Tables Round, from the highest despot to the lowest serf, a manhood so degenerate that he sometimes struggled with an almost uncontrollable impulse to "go out and hang the whole human race." For the purpose of this discussion, let the nineteenth century represent the standard from which the

manhood of the sixth degenerated. Assuming that you have read the story, the gymnastic powers of your imagination are equal to any feat,

The constructive tendencies of the nineteenth century prevailed in the Yankee, however; so instead of making wholesale application of the modern lynch remedy, he built a man factory, in which, by a process known to the Yankee, men were made over and boys started right.

The sixth century factory is a laughable anachronism. The progress of the years has brought the factory, but in the nineteenth century, the man factory idea is still unembodied.

Nature gives into the hands of man the bounteous products of her ancient toil. He assumes her task where she leaves it. By patient study and experiment he has learned her processes, and by subtle contrivances he continues them. Her powers become his handmaids. Forest and earth, water and air, yield to his wizard question their secret and lend their forces to the mighty mechanics of our modern civilization.

The standard of mechanical production is perfection, but how about the mechanic? Ours is an age of wonderful things, but how about the men? No man presumes to direct an instruction, no man presumes to superintend in shop, mill or mine without adequate training for his work. Before he can do or direct others in their work, he must know. All this makes for the perfection of the thing. To the end of mechanical perfection, all human right and dignity are subserved, so that the masses of our manhood and womanhood are controlled by a gigantic mechanic scheme which grows under their hands—are the creatures and not the masters of their own creations.

Meantime, reversing the levers of machines that all but think; going through the monotonous preparation of material for manufacture; receiving and packing the product of the iron fingers, or standing for ten hours behind the counters of shops where things are sold, lives a great proportion of the potential motherhood of the race. These are the custodians and directors of the nation's future manhood and womanhood. How does their training fit them for their task? The healthful child has some capital with which to begin life; but the chances are sadly against any babe whose mother has worked on inadequate food, for too long hours, and in unsanitary surroundings until her own health was shattered, and then

married a fellow-worker, perhaps, who could give her scarcely better conditions.

That child has something which will abide through life who learns at his mother's knee the habit of high thought, the value of discipline, and the inexorable penalties which follow upon the breach of eternal law.

The ribald jest and the coarse story, current from day to day among those whose mental activities receive no proper food, do not conduce to habits of high thought. The harsh and rigid discipline to which the average industrial worker is by necessity subjected, begets in him or her, as a rule, the love of license; and the sacred meanings of the word law are never known to those who are victims of and see operative everywhere in their daily lives, the rule, "Get all you can and keep all you get." Get all you can would be as good a rule for the man as for the master, were it not in the master's hands to fix the man's limitations.

Thus in the homes of the poor, the mothers. They do not constitute our entire motherhood, it is true, but a proportion large enough certainly to merit attention.

It is perhaps a subject for congratulation that the luxurious homes of the land forego so largely the luxury of children; that the indolent, pampered and enervated women of those homes shirk the duties of mother-hood as they do. And it may be said in passing that the women of the idle classes, or the idle women of the classes, in their indisposition and refusal to propagate their kind, show a unique characteristic in the genus parasite.

These are but suggestions on a theme which merits more exhaustive discussion, of which space does not permit. There is compensation, however, in the knowledge that in this busy age one is less likely, even than of old, to be heard for one's mich speaking; and in the meantime let us hope that every word earnestly said may do somewhat for the attainment of Industrial Democracy, the next step in the world's emancipation.

SOCIALISM AND THE CHILD.

MAY WOOD SIMONS



T is a fact recognized by all those who have followed the development of humanity that the prolonged period of infancy of the human child has been one of the factors that has aided in the accumulation of the mental resources of the race. It is fully established in biology that success in life for the offspring of many animals depends on the care aud protection given by the parents to their young. In every stage of society those tribes and nations that have given most care to the children have been the people who have been able to make the greatest strides in aiding the progress of the race. In any given epoch it must be at once apparent that the

care of the young is closely dependent on economic conditions. Since the beginning of civilized society, with the existence of two economic classes one of which is able to control the means of life of the other, there has prevailed a disregard on the part of the ruling class for the welfare not

alone of the adult worker but for the children of the laborer. These children represent to the employer but a means for realizing greater profits.

How then does present capitalist society treat the children of the great producing class? First of all, statistics show that 50 per cent of the children born of this class die before the age of 4 years.

Thousands of these little ones, protected in some states by a nominal labor law that is easily avoided by the employer and in most states by no law at all, toil in the department stores, in factories of every description, in the sweat shop and mines until these great industries have become monuments to the suffering of children.

One has but to walk on a summer night through the ghetto or the district "back of the yards" through the East Side of New York or the East End of London to see these dwarfed and aged little ones lying on the door step and side-walk asleep after their day's toil, driven from the house by the heat and oppressive air. Or on a wintry morning one encounters these same waifs struggling through the darkness in their thin thread bare clothing to their ten or twelve hours of work. Yet this is the 20th century civilization with its avowed high ideals and its certain power with its new and improved machines to clothe and feed the world:

Again, turn to the cotton factories of the south that thrive on the "slaughter of the innocents." One cannot but feel how effete is our civilization when it sorrows for the children slain in far off lands and ages and without a pany of conscience draws dividends from the toil of these helpless ones. The average length of the life of the child who goes into the southern cotton mill is but four years and these are four years of aching littles bodies and benumbed brains.

Through the unscrupluous conduct of politicians and law makers and enforcers the sanitary conditions of the working class districts are such that on certain streets of Chicago for instance the death rate for children is higher than the birth rate. This is due to the fact that the city garbage is "dumped" in the midst of a dwelling house district and that open ditches serve for sewers.

Again, today, the mother of the working class is taken from her babies and sent to work in the factories. The babies are put in a charity creche and after her ten hours of work the mother hurries home with her little flock of children to the desolate room or two that serves for a home.

Let us sum up then our indictment of capitalism in its treatment of the children of labor.

Should they live to enter the industrial field they begin often at the age of 6 years (in the southern cotton mills as young as 5 years) to enter the competitive struggle. Because of their weakness industrially and their lack of protection by the law they take the places of women and even men since modern machinery requires little human strength, only a guiding power. Capitalism purchases the cheapest labor power whether embodied in man, woman or child and where machinery permits its use child labor is utilized

In many wards of the cities and in many a country district not $\frac{1}{2}$ of the children of school age are to be found in school. Morever, as pointed out in the British Report on Education, and the same condition prevails here, of those who do attend school, many are so poorly fed and thinly clad that

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it is impossible to teach them. There are no red corpules left in the child's body.

In short the most superficial observer must confess that great efforts are being put forth even by society today to protect the children from the brutality of the present industrial system.

Truly if Socialism could give to the children of the working class no promise of a better life than capitalism condemns them to it would be a failure. What then does Socialism claim in regard to the future it offers to the child? First of all it will give to every child an equal opportunity to live.

Today the child born into the laboring class is born into a class from which there is as little chance for him to rise as for the low caste Indian to become a Brahmin. Yet many a laboring man will still believe he may yet become a capitalist and that his children have equal opporunities in a free republic. How many children of laboring men will graduate this year from Chicago University where the minimum cost per year is \$600? No! equality of opportunity does not today exist.

It is only with the removal of the element of profit from production and the vesting of the ownership of the tools of production in the whole people that the children will be freed from the mine and factory and given an opporunity to live and develop their manhood and womanhood.

It is then that every parent will know that there is work always for him to do to enable him to care for his little ones. There will not always confront him the horror that he may lose his "place" and be forced to see his babies driven into the factories or starved.

The most prejudiced must own that the hope of the child of the laborer lies in Socialism.

CHICAGO, ILL.

WOMEN UNDER SOCIALISM

By MILA TUPPER MAYNARD

HE position of women under Socialism is a subject about which much is said, but in regard to which the principles seem not to be well understood.

Socialism will change the position of women only gradually and indirectly, except the women now employed or desiring employment. These it will free from dependence and exploitation as it frees men.

"O but there will be co-operative housekeeping!"
Not necessarily.

In all probability none at all. Sometime not far distant we may hope that there will be an evolved domestic in-

dustry under which cooking, cleaning and the like will be organized in a truly modern fashion. Just as laundries and bake-shops now do the work of hundreds of homes, so we may reasonably expect that 'delicacy stores' and "home cooking" departments will enlarge and extend, until most, if not all, of the meals of a community will be served from common centers.

That will not be "co operative housekeeping," except that after our victory profit will be eliminated here, as everywhere, under Socialism. "Co-

operation" savors of personal relations too much and amateurish machinery.

What, then, may we expect? Understanding that changes will come only as natural evolution brings them and as men and women are ready for them, what new progressive agencies will Socialism set in motion?

First. Women can be employed at any time they wish to be on the same terms as their husbands or any other citizen. Employment will be guaranteed to all.

This will in itself virtually revolutionize the position of woman. It will make her independent financially if she chooses to be.

This will at once stimulate domestic industry. Washing, cleaning and much of the cooking would go at once to collective service.

Second. The real needs of children will command greater attention. The fact that the child knows its mother now as its cook, nurse, dishwasher, seamstress and general attendant, is not productive of the best results.

The orders issued daily in thousands of homes in every community by young hopefuls, is not prophetic of considerate wives and husbands later on. Children who have not been able to command the slavish attentions of a mother all day long throughout all their childhood will be much more desirable citizens.

Third. Socialism, as such, would not affect marriage except as it would free women from financial dependence.

That alone, however, would work wonders. Sordid motives—wealth, ambition, a "home," social position—all of these would disappear as foundations for marriage.

Mistakes would still be made, but financial freedom would relieve both men and women of the embarrassing complications which now lock in deadly misery so many unfortunate men and women.

Undoubtedly, the freedom from the financial problem would make divorce easier morally and legally even without any great change in public sentiment or laws, but there would in all probability be far fewer separations, as marriages would be made under so much more favorable conditions.

Remember, that whatever ideas individuals may have on this subject, they are not a part of Socialism. Socialism is collective control of industries organized by a natural business evolution. Public sentiment will control then, as now, and great changes may come, but all matters of this sort are affected by Socialism only indirectly.

We cannot lay too much stress on the truth that Socialism will grow no figs on thistles, will grow no acorns even on oak sprouts in a year. Everything will come naturally by a process of growth.

Whe demand the absolute equality of the seres before the law, and the repeal of all laws that in any way discriminate against women.

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Socialist Mational Convention.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT "RACE SUICIDE"

By KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

"The factories are full of old maids: the colleges are full of old maids; the ball rooms in the worldly rentres are full of old maids. For natural obligations are substituted the fictitious duties of clubs, meetings, committees, organizations, professions, a thousand unwomanly occupations.

unwomanly occupations.

"Among the American born women of the country the sterility is greater, the fecundity less than those of any other nation in the world, unless it be France, whose anxiety regarding her depopulation we would share in full measure were it not for the foreign immigration to the United States, which counteracts the degeneracy of the American."



HE above is a quotation from Elizabeth Van Vorst's new book, "The Woman Who Toils." President Roosevelt, after reading the chapter from which this is taken, and recognizing the tremendous effect on the race from this tendency, sent a commendatory letter to the author, of which the following is a part:

"The man or woman who deliberately avoids marriage, and has a heart so cold as to know no passion, and a brair so shallow and selfish as to dislike having children is in effect a criminal against the race, and should be an object or contemptuous abhorrence by all healthy people."

Both Mrs. Van Vorst and President Roosevelt entirely overlook the fact that the real reason for the decrease in the birth rate and marriages is neither physical nor moral,

or as the President says, "ease loving laziness" of the poor, but the problem of subsistence. Girls do not remain old maids for the sake of the pleasure of working in a factory, attending club meetings or entering the professions, but because it is impossible for men to earn enough to support a wife under our present social order, and be secure in doing so day after day.

I deny that the American girl has become so perverted that the divine instinct of motherhood is dead in her heart. I deny that the American man has become so calloused and self centered that love has no place in his life, or that the clink of dollars is to him sweeter than the tender words of wifely love or the patter of baby feet.

American men and women are making the greatest sacrifice in all the history of the race in denying themselves the inestimable boon of companionship and parenthood, that they may not bring into the world helpless little ones they have no assurance of being able to provide for.

If to-morrow every man could be assured of a continued income adequate for the support of a wife and family, would not priest, preacher and magistrate have a busy season for many days to come?

If to-morrow every husband's income could be increased fourfold would not many a woman's heart thrill with the thought that motherhood, the joy so long denied, might be attained?

The race to-day in its ignorance seeks to avoid that which alone crowns and glorifies life, not from choice but from stern necessity. Celibacy, childlessness and prostitution are not the choice of the American people, but are increasing with the difficulty of obtaining bread.

The American workers now create fourfold the amount they receive in wages. We have solved the problem of making bread and must now solve the problem of securing what we produce. Socialism alone does that. Only when we know this and refuse to act, or when we do not know it and refuse to learn, do we become the criminals President Roosevelt calls us or the frivolous creatures Mrs. Van Vorst deems us

WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION

By MARION H. DUNHAM Corresponding Secretary

"Why the Woman's National Socialist Union?" is the question often asked. Why have a separate organization instead of all working together in the regular party local?

The answer is found in the present conditions. B-cause of custom, education, tradition and environment, comparatively few woman have given study to political or economic questions, and the great majority are as yet unreached and untouched by the great wave of the Socialistic movement which has brought hope and inspiration to so many thousands of men, and is already causing alarm on the part of those who from selfish motives desire the continuance of the present system. But if woman is not helping the movement, she will be a clog upon it, and for its sake as well as her own, she must be aroused and enlisted in it.

All concede this, the only question is as to the method of doing so.

If we go to her as representing in any way a political party, we at once arouse what political opinions and prejudices she may have and most women have some, and their hearts are closed to us.

But going to them as members of an organization of, and for women, we gain their attention, and the rest is not difficult.

And again, not all men who call themselves Socialists, are fully so where women are concerned. They do not hold to absolute equality of rights between men and women just as firmly as to equality among men.

The old habit of considering them a dependent, if not inferior class, still clings to them, and there are local clubs in the country where the membership of women is not desired, and in such cases the women must be reached, if reached at all, by an outside organization.

For lack of funds, a condition readily undertsood by Socialists, we have not yet sent out an organizer, but expect to in the near future, but already one state, California has a state organization and is doing fine work, while there are a number of thriving locals in other states, and individual members scattered over the country.

We divide our work into departments, one being devoted to the study of Socialism, another to its propaganda, a third to the education of the young in the principles of co-operation, and add to these parliamentary usage, and securing data as to present social and industrial conditions.

Because of the power of united effort, we urge all women like-minded with us, to give their membership and aid, that we may the sooner interest and enlist other women in the promotion of this greatest movement of the ages, which means so much to man, but will do far more for her.

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From Declaration of Principles:

We stand pledged to teach the principles of the higher industrial system called the Co-operative Commonwealth; to enlist women in the advancement of these principles in every practical way; to educate the young in these truths; to form a better public sentiment; and we pledge ourselves to do all in our power, individually and collectively, to bring about that universal co-operation founded upon the Golden Rule of Love and Justice, which shall take the place of competitive strife and discord.

Shafts of Truth

Women! who shall one day bear Sons to breathe New England air, If you hear without a blush Deeds to make the roused blood rush Like red lava through your veins, For your sisters now in chains, Answer! are ye fit to be Mothers of the brave and free?

Oh, rich women of the churches, have you no social and political duty? You, who spend so much on your own persons, have you no care for the body of society? And you women of the middle classes, who have a great power, will you not use that power to wipe out these stains on our national SPOKANE. character? If you take up a determined stand with the churches, they will be compelled to become active. The work will be done without you, but quicker with you than without you. - TOM MANN.

The deadliest enemy to our republic at this hour is the aristocracy of our women. The ballot box is beneath their dignity. They have all the rights they want. So has the pope of Rome; but what of the multitude outside the Vatican? Reform comes from the laboring classes. Talk to their women and you make an impression. The gay and fashionable are but the mummies of civilization, to be galvanized into life only by earthquakes and revolution.—ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

I believe that every step in human civilization has been marked by the nearer approach of woman to her just and equal place of influence in the State. I believe that every such approach has at the same time purified the home and rendered womansweeter and more feminine. Everywhere she has "moved with us to our good." No nation, no city, no household, ever took a lofty place where the influence of woman did not inspire it with the heroic temper. And when she takes this new and final step, bringing to the service of the State her purity, she will not only ennoble the State, but will elevate also

Whate'er of peace about our hearthstones clings, Whate'er our household gods protect of dear.

-SENATOR GEO. F. HOAR.

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BRIEF TALKS ON SUGGESTION*

By A. C. Halphide, M. D.

The Relations Between Mesmerism, Hypnotism and Suggestion



HESE development, Fredrick subject.

magnet, and the theory of universal magnetic fluid emanating from the heavenly bodies, and capable of use as a curative of all human ills. Upon his graduation (1776) he prepared and presented to the university a thesis on "The Influence of the Planets in the Cure of Disease." In this he argued that there is in man and animals an animal magnetism which responds to the influences of the planets similar to the action of the moon on the ebb and flow of the tides. At first Mesmer uniformly used a magnet in giving his treat-ments, but later he abandoned it, and produced the crises by manual contact and passes. Animal magnetism thus developed and advocated by Mesmer was soon identified with. him. and given his name, e. g., Mesmerism.

For more than a half century the the Saltpetriere animal magnetism, when early convinced him that the phe-

ESE terms are the and that the so-called mesmeric names applied to sug- trance was a nervous or psychical gestive therapeutics at state similar to natural sleep. This the various periods of was the reason for his selection of and the Greek word hypnos. meaning sleep, they indicate a progres- in naming it hypnotism. By a few understanding of writers it was named after Braid.

Then for upwards of twenty-five Anton Mesmer, during years the subject was variously call-his course in the Univered hypnotism, Braidism, Mesmerism, sity of Vienna, became animal magnetism, and the like, much interested in the until A. A. Liebeault a French therapeutic use of the savant, of Nancy, France, in a work, the theory of universpublished in 1866, on "Sleep and the states analogous to it, specially considered in the action of the mental upon the physcial," in which he emphasized the psychic nature of the subject, and declared that suggestion was its key-note. To him belongs the honor of being the founder of suggestive therapeutics.

> Bernheim, who was associated with Liebeault in his clinic, and took up the same at his death, said, "In hypnotism, suggestion is everything," and the same is equally true in suggestive therapeutics. Therefore it is safe to say that mesmerism, hypnotism and suggestion are very nearly synonymous terms.

> THE SEVERAL SCHOOLS OF HYPNO-SUGGESTION.

The school at Paris, often called School, because subject was known as Mesmerism, or Charcot held most of his clinics in James the hospital of that name, only re-Braid an English surgeon (1842), be- cognized the profounded states of hypcame interested in, and made a care- nosis, such as somnambulism, lethful study of Mesmerism and was led argy. and catalepsy, because the by his finding to discard its old name methods used produce only deep hypand rechristen it. Experimentation noses. Charcot and his followers used methods which profoundly nomena of Mesmerism depended upon shocked their subjects' minds, such mental rather than physical causes, as a loud gong, or a brilliant arc light. This, in conjunction with another fact, namely, that the subjects experimented upon at Salpetriere were mostly hysterical women, accounts for the peculiar, not to say erroneous, conclusions arrived at and taught by this school of hypnotism. They frequently threw their subjects

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This is the second of an instructive series of articles by Dr. Halphide which will be continued in subsequent issues of The Vanguard, covering the whole ground of Suggestive Therapeutics in a concise plain fashion. Dr. Halphide's book, "Mind and Body" is very valuable. For sale by The Vanguard Press. See advertisment in this

into actual cataleptic fits, and so they held that hypnosis was a morbid state, and therfore harmful to the subject.

The Nancy school recognizes both light and profound states of hypnosis. but most often produces the lighter states, for light states are oftenest used in suggestive therapeutics. The methods used by Liebeault and his followers were all mild, calculated to soothe their subjects. There was no sudden transition, and mentals shocks. The methods used are much like those used by the mother or nurse to soothe and put an infant to sleep. A gentle, prolonged, sensory stimulus, as rubbing the hand or the forehead, or talking to the subject in a mono-tonous tone of voice, or having him look fixedly at some object, will suffice, in most cases, to induce hypnosis. These mild methods are rarely contraindicated, and it is plain that they furnish an ideal means for soothing and treating many nervous conditions and diseases. Suggestive therapeutics owes most of its success to this school of hypnotism, and not a little honor is due Drs. Liebeault and Bernheim for the untiring labors in their clinics at Nancy.

The animal magnetism school consists of those who cling to the ancient belief promulgated by Mesmer to the effect that a subtle magnetic fluid exists in animal bodies which it is possible to project upon others by means of passes and otherwise for the cure of their ailments. words of one of their writers, "It remains clearly established that, apart from physical agents, there exists a useful, beneficial and salutary influence of the individual in sound person." health over the diseased "A contagion of health." The existence of any considerable magnetic force in the human body is highly problematical, as was well shown by the commission appointed by the French Academy (1784) of which Benjamin Franklin was a member. In their report they said, "They have demonstrated by decisive experiments that imagination, apart from magnetism produces convulsions, and that magnetism without imagination produces nothing.' It is probable that all results obtained by magnetism are really due to unconscious

suggestions, and not produced by the magnetic passes or contact.

At present there are three schools of hypnotism, namely, first, those who stick to the ancient belief in an animal magnetic fluid, the Mesmerists: second, those who believe in Liebeault and follow his methods, as practiced in his clinic, the Nancy school, third, those who believe in Charcot and follow his methods, the Salpetriere school.

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Dr. Halphide advocates the efficacy of suggestion during natural sleep for educational and therapeutic purposes and fairly points out the legitimate uses and the dangers of hypnotism. He is not a faddist in any sense, but a conscientious and progressive physician who makes ruch use of suggestive hypnotism in his practice and has obtained many remarkable results through its agency.

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SOCIALIST **HEAOQUARTERS**



To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Social st Party, now organized in all the States of the Uniou. In some states, as for instance in Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.
NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY,

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Notes of Progress

The National Organizing Fund has received a contribution of \$1000 from Comrade J. A. Wayland of the Appeal to Reason, of which Secretary Mailly says: "It comes at a time when most needed and when it can be put to the best uses for the Socialist Party, which is the concrete expression of the Socialist movement in America." After outlining plans in for lack of funds, the Secretary efforts on the part of the workers everywhere: "Don't think that Com- growth. rade Wayland's donation has equiporganization. splendid opporunity to become equipones to follow. Coir cards for donafurnished upon application by the National Secretary."

The Ohio campaign affords the amusing spectacle of Senator Hanna calling Tom Johnson a "Socialist" and Tom repudiating the "slander" while both pose as the "workingman's friend." Their tactics will doubtless befuddle the minds of many and serve to prolong the rule and ruin of capitalism. But amid the noise and dust of this sham battle the real Socialists are quietly getting in their work of education which is destined to overthrow the present system of wageslavery with its attendant bossism and political tomfoolery. They are getting free advertising from the old party leaders and will give a good account of themselves on election day.

The hottest political contest of years is now in Massachusetts where the increased Socialist vote of last year has roused the old parties to put forth tremendous efforts to stay the tide that is setting in towards the Cooperative Commonwealth. The anti-Socialists have the active assistance of the National Economic League, formed recently by the capitalists for the express purpose of combating Socialism and composed of leading republicans and democrats. The hope of these politicians is that if they can give the Socialist movement a backset in Massachusetts this year they will deal it a death blow. But they are ignorant of the forces they are contending against. Socialism is a world-conquering movement. comrades of Massachusetts are putting up a splendid light and in the face of the united opposition of the old parties expect to poll an increased vote.

Good news comes from British Columbia. In the general election just held the Socialists polled 4,000 votes and elected two candidates. mind, but which have been delayed a number of other constituencies they ran very close to the winning candimakes a stirring appeal for redoubled date leaving one or other of the old parties behind. This is an amazing The vote in 1900 being only 684. Late reports say that a new ped us completely for the work of election will be necessary. The law It has only given us a requires that to carry on the government a party must have a majority ped, through organization, for the in the Legislature. Neither of the great battle of next year and the old parties is in this position. The Socialists refuse to fuse and are pretions to the organizing fund will be paring for a more vigorous campaign than ever

SOCIALISTS, ATTENTION!

There are undoubtedly many Socialists living in places where there are no local organizations who would like to have a speaker visit their localities but are unable operater visit their localities but are unable to assume the financial responsibility attach-ed to the undertaking. If every such Social-ist reading these lines will send his name and address to the National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., and state what he or she can do in the way of entertainment,, ar-ranging and advertising a meeting, guar-antee toward the expenses of speaker, how much notice of speakers coming would be needed, etc., the names will be filed and needed, etc.. the names will be filed and attention given to the application as soon as possible. Of course it is understood that the national office does not guarantee a speaker immediately for every locality, but the best efforts will be made to satisfy the demand. We want to see every militant Socialist a member of the Party. Address the National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha. Nebraska. Omaha, Nebraska. Digitized by GOOGIC

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HOT SHOT

Keep still about the fact that workingmen and women are being made "servants to the lap dogs of the wives of millionaires in New York City", you might stir up class hatred.—New Time.

President Roosevelt has denounced lynching in the South, but up to the present has not found occasion to say a word about the murdcrous system of child labor in that part of the land. No capitalists are drawing a profit from lynching —CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

Socialists do not want to divide up. They ridicule such an idea; but as some one has sagely observed, even on that proposition the working class would have nothing to lose, for Uncle Sam could give 120 acres and the equivalent of about \$5,000 to each family in the country. Socialists want to stop the system of letting parasites divide up the products of the laborer.

—PUEBLO COURIER.

We Socialists charge the capitalist system with being against the home. We charge it with wrecking the homes of the people and yet when we point out the proof-proof that is overwhelming-up jumps some capitalist editorial hack or mammon serving priest and warns the people against Socialism "because it will break up the home!" Where are our homes to-day? Who amoug the working class owns his home? Capitalism lowers wages and raises the price for necessaries so that the young man is actually afraid to ask a girl to marry him and live on his slender income. And what results? The girl seeks self-supporting employment, wage that brings her into competition with a man, thus bringing down the rate of his wages, and the man, prevented from setting up a home of his own, turns, in too many cases, to the "gay" life that means late hours in questionable places and a menace to tne purity of womankind. Thus the girl drags the man down and the man drags the girl down, and there you have it! And in spite of this the press and pulpit try to blind people's eyes to the present situation and impudently sound their hypocritical warning: "Look out for these awful Socialists; they want to break up the home!" Pah!-Social American DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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The great merit of Marx, therefore, lies in the work he has done as a scientific inquirer into the the economic movement of modern times, as the philosophic historian of the capitalistic era.—Encyclopædia Britannica



The VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray, Yet newer strength we borrow, And where the vanguard camps today, The rear shall rest tomorrow.'

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., DECEMBER, 1903.

NO. 4.

I know of nothing in our world today which has such power to compel the enthusiasm and expectancy and arouse the latent divinity in human souls as that faith and that movement which is saying in all its philosophy and in all its endeavors, as nothing else is, that we can be fellows. We can be comrades. We can make this a world of comrades. We can put an end to these awful sacrifices of men, women and children. We can secure such a readjustment of activities, such a division of labor, such a new and better principle in the ownership and management of civilization, that every man who wants to can live a complete and unfearing life. We will not permit the slaughter of human beings, We have destroyed the Bastile. We have put away from us some of the ancient symbols of barbarism and savagery. We will destroy these later implements of torture and establish society on a basis of brotherhood.

William Thurston Brown.

the best the world has to give.

We believe in the possibility of making the Christ-spirit dominant in all the relations of men to each other. We further maintain that there is no more dangerous form of unbelief or atheism prevalent today than that ticability of his teaching in every on page 26 of this issue of THE VANday life and seeks to excuse its in- GUARD to which we would call special consistency and selfishness with the attention. Mr. Mills is a Socialist of plea that the world is not yet ready long standing and has been a confor the ethics of the Sermon on the tributor to our magazine from the Mount.

we learn that a few Sundays ago by its insistence upon unselfishness as Archdeacon Casey spoke "in opposi- the solution of every individual and tion to the present-day Socialist social problem and its demand for movement," urging laboring men to brotherhood, co-operation and "serve their individual employers," mocracy in industrial and political

What means the Christmas joy? their lot in this world, hoping for their re-Is it not the Christ-spirit active in ward in the next." Of all the sloppy human hearts? And what a proph-drivel and tommy-rot that ever came ecy is thus afforded! It is this which under our observation this appeal of the Father is seeking to make un- the clergy deserves to be placed at iversal and permanent in the world, the head of the procession. Yet it is Some day it will be here in its intend- constantly being palmed off on the ed fulness and power. Then will all credulous as "pure gospel." We do men be sharers with their brothers in not hesitate to pronounce it a blasphemous travesty of the message of Jesus. The preachers are still discussing why workingmen do not attend church. The wonder is that there are any of them left in the average church.

Of great significance to scientific which, while professing to "believe" and practical Socialists everywhere is in Jesus and while calling him "Lord, the new departure of Benjamin Fav Lord," persistently denies the prac- Mills, the famous evangelist, noted first. After several years of comparative retirement he comes forth From the Lindsay (Ont.) Warder preaching a New Evangelism which, declaring that "men should put up with life, is attracting the true of hear"

both in and out of the churches who dignitaries. But it lives and grows wherein shall dwell righteousness. the world as the years go by. It has been the privilege of the edi- out of our civilization the motives sal Religion and the Co-operative a sunless earth. Commonwealth. While not directly these principles and applying them ity of right and opportunity. to human relations in a way that leads inevitably to the Socialist posi- the Christ-life in their own hearts, tion and program. All hail the New Evangelism, the gospel of Socialism.

ABOUT THE CHRIST

The question as to the exact time and place of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth is one which we may well leave to the schoolmen while we consider the vastly more important question, where is the Christ born nowa-days? For, after all, the greatness and glory of our religion comes from the conviction that the Christ was not only born nineteen hundred vears ago in Palestine but may be born and is being born anew in the busy actual world of the twentieth century.

Wherever there is a heart that throbs with unselfish love for another. and that prompts to self-sacrifice to make some other person happier,there is Christ born anew. ever a deed of heroism is done, a deed of noble daring for a lofty purpose,there is Christ born today.

This is not always recognized now any more than it was of old time. Most of the religion of Jesus bears no orthodox label, wears no official robe. Indeed it has still to win its way in opposition to traditional dogmatists and ecclesiastical

look and labor for the new earth and glows and warms the beart of tor of THE VANGUARD to be associat- and ideals which, though they may ed with Mr. Mills recently in a three not all bear the name of Christ, are weeks' series of meetings and to hear in reality those which his name him proclaim with tremendous power typifies, and what we would have left the fundamental principles of Univer- would be as cheerless and dreary as

Our great need is more and more engaged in the work of Socialist pro- of the Christ-spirit-not idle specupaganda, Mr. Mills is doing immense lations about Jesus, but his spiritservice to the cause by emphasizing the spirit of brotherhood and equal-

> To those who feel the stirring of who are experiencing the awakening of a social conscience, the Christmas season possesses an eternal significance. It is more than the anniversary of an event, far off in time and place; it is the rebirth of Christ, again and again, among the mangers of the lowly, in the pressing demand for liberty, growth of good-will and all the tender humanities.

> The divine life is today seeking to come abundantly into our human lives. The Christ-spirit is today being incarnated in the movements of our age. The angels still sing their heavenly chorus; the wise pay their tribute; while, as never before in human history, men everywhere feel a providence in the march of events and realize that the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

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ABOUT THE CHURCH

What could more clearly reveal the character of our present industrial and political order than the discussions which took place at a meeting of clergymen in New York City when one prominent, minister, said, "the pulpit should inculcate the social teachings of Jesus," to which another replied, "Dr. Whiton's position is an admirable one, but if the clergy of this city should attempt such a thing, nine-tenths of the pulpits would be vacant within a vear."

What is to be thought of such an admission? Christ's social teaching is "admirable"; of course it is. And it is quite safe to admire and say row, dogmatic, ecclesiastical sense nice things about it in the abstract. But when it comes to the actual application, it will not be tolerated of all the diverse interests of life, even in the church. It must not be preached in order that the man, if such we may call him, may keep his place, in the pulpit.

Surely the time is come for judgment to begin at the house of God and for judgment not according to appearance nor with respect of persons but according to righteous judgment and with impartiality. This means that the church, the men and women of the churches, must be free from complicity with dishonesty and injustice, not simply in hideous forms but under the guise of "legibusiness" and "practical unless the church politics." And does this all its efforts at outside "reform" will prove ineffctual.

It is because the church, while theoretically Christian, has prac- VANGUARD has been so great that our tically rejected the ethics of Christ's edition has been practically exhausted begospel that it is as salt without forethe middle of each month. We will try sayor and has ceased to exert suf- to keep up with the orders but new subficient moral influence to command scriptions received after the 15th of the month the confidence of men or even awak- may have to begin with the issue of the en enthusiasm among those who, month following.

from various reasons, contribute to it support. In a mild sort of a way all churches and church people wish to "save" society, but they seem to have forgotten that Christianity is a battle, not a dream, and that to "follow Jesus" means to bear witness in social and business and political life to the truths which he taught and the principles which he died in upholding. The need of the hour is for vital faith in the central fact that this is a moral universe. The problem of life is to retain and develop God-consciousness, the conviction that righteouness is fundamental. The call to the church today is to reality, to the Reality of Religion; not religion in the narof the word but in its larger. deeper. higher meaning-inclusive touching every relation man and man, embodying the great principles which bind us to the "God of things as they are" and yoke us to our fellows for the bearing of each other's burdens and the fulfilling of the law of Christ. And these are the principles of Socialism.

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A large number of subscriptions to THE VANGUARD expire this month. deem it a courtesy to discontinue sending the magazine when the time is out, so please renew promptly if you wish to receive THE VANGUARD for another year. Remember that for one dollar we will send the magazine to four different addresses.

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CHRISTMAS--ITS MEANING AND USE

BY B. O. FLOWER



N its higher aspect Christmas stands as the anniversary of the advent of a new order, as the birth time of one who defied the canons of conventionality and placed his feet upon the neck of that selfishness and animalism which have ever been the chief factors in holding man down while filling the world with misery and wretchedness.

Jesus stood for a new order, which taught that "whatsoever ye would that men should do to ye that must ye, also do to others." He exalted and dignified manhood. Self-mastery, loving compassion for the weak and erring, justice and love, moral heroism and fortitude; in a word, the supremacy

of the idealistic or spiritual over the egoistic or animal nature—this was the keynote of the life emphasized by Christ.

This is the spirit of the new order he sought to establish. And at the present time a world-wide movement is apparent which is moving on the broad lines laid down by the founder of Christianity. The brotherhood of man, justice to all and a wider freedom, breathing the spirit of liberty, equity, and equality, such is the soul of the movement which is growing with great rapidity, and which promises to usher in a new time. And for this reason the Christian festival has a real and deep interest for those who are striving to transform the world by making the Golden Rule a real factor in life—by inaugurating the reign of right over the rule of might—who demand that human brotherhood and its implications and obligations shall henceforth be recognized in the affairs of government.

To us the Christian festival means far more in its suggestiveness than the commemoration of the birth of the Founder of Christianity. It points forward to the hastening advent of the uew time, in which love and justice shall prevail and the Golden Rule shall no longer be excluded from national life.

But there is another reason why Christmas is dear to those who are working for a better day. It is the one day in the year when men, women and children seek to make others happy by tokens of loving remembrance and words of tenderness and cheer. It is unfortunate that this life of giving, this outgushing of the soul in loving thought for others should not mark every day of life for all of us, Yet, since man's advance has not reached this altitude of felicity, let us rejoice that there is one day when the overmastering desire of the heart of the people is to carry joy into other's lives.

The spirit of Christmas is the spirit in essence which will pervade life when savage and murderous competition gives place to co-operation, when the rule of "might makes right" is changed into a reign of equal justice and the universal recognition of the sacred rights of all God's children.

The artificiality of modern life and the low ideals of a society absorbed in money getting have brought customs into this beautiful season of gladness which are so foreign to the spiritual and tender spirit that should animate the day that they are taking much of the sweetness out of a time when the souls of all should expand. I refer especially to the habit which

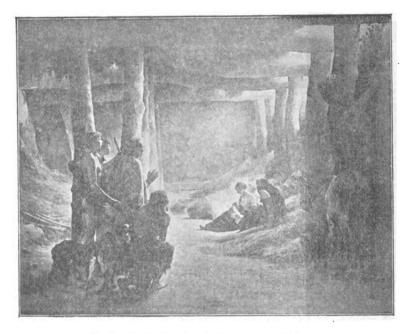
is growing up so rapidly of making Christmas a day for the giving of expensive presents, a custom which makes many persons who can ill afford it feel that they must buy something for friends, lest the friends feel slight. ed, or because they expect the friends will buy something for them, and they do not wish to appear thoughtless or to be obligated. "This is the season," said a prominent speaker to me, with a sigh, "when every one buys things for their friends which are not needed or desired, and when they receive things for which they have little or no use. And," he continued, "Christmas has become such a time of present buying and giving that all my family look forward to it with sometning like dread. They do not wish to be the recipients of presents without giving in return, and they have often had to deny themselves things they very much needed to buy presents for friends who they knew intended to remember them in the same way." And it is also wrong for the rich to lavish presents on their loved ones while there are thousands within easy distance of their homes who have no coal or clothes to keep their bodies warm, no food to answer the cry of their system for sustenance, no books to nourish their minds.

It is the duty of earnest and sincere men and women to resolutely set an example upon higher and nobler lines, and in this way bring back as far as possible the tender, beautiful, and essentially divine spirit of the day. A card, or better still, an autograph note, breathing the honest wishes of the heart, the genuine outgushing of the soul, should take the place of costly presents between grown friends, and the money which one can afford to spend at this time should go toward brightening and gladdening the homes which would otherwise be cheerless.

Oh, the mighty army in every city to whom Christmas brings no warmth, no food, no cheer, and no words of love or hope. I know that this giving will not solve the awful problem of wide-spread poverty which can never be settled until society is great enough to be just and Christian enough to put the Golden Rule into practice. But while we are teaching and working for the better day which is surely coming, let us spend all that we can spend, not upon those who do not aid need, but upon those of our brothers and sisters who are less fortunate. Let us brighten as far as possible their bleak and barren lives. And while doing this let us not relax in our efforts to bring about those fundamental reforms which, being based on the eternal rock of justice and fraternity, will transform the world.

There is no devil's delusion so complete as that "blue blood" is best. That it is really the cheapest and thinnest blood of all is proved by the fact that the blue veins, from which we get the phrase, are but the symptoms of poor health, and he who has poor health is poor indeed. That a white hand is to be desired is another first-class delusion, and in time to come the white hand will be a badge of inferiority and progressive paralysis, while the brown hand of self-help will be the hand of holiness.—Frances E. Willurd.

It has been well said that the question of human rights is bounded on one side by the principle that what is necessary to the peace and well-being of society each individual is bound to yield, and on the other by the correlated principle that what is necessary to the health, security and happiness of the individual, society is bound to accord. On these two hang all the ethics of human progress, and they underly every discussion of that sacred trinity, the temperance, the labor and the woman questions.—Frances E. Willard.



Oh. Truth! Oh. Freedom! How are ye still born In the rude stable, in the manger nursed; What humble hands unbar those gates of morn. Through which the splendors of the new day burst.

-WHITTIER.

A BOW OF PROMISE

A great star, quick to be released,
Sends, like a glorious flag unfurled,
Its broad, bright streamers up the East,
A bow of promise o'er the world;
A great star up from darkness rolled,
With marvelous heralds of the morn:
The seers of old to earth foretold
This birth for which the years were born—
Socialism!

It has been night. It will be day.

And such a day! All days beside

Are but the mouldering cells of clay

From which the flower springs glorified!

The clinging death-robes of the past

We'll leave in graves of old desire,

And live, oh, Sun of Love! at last,

New-born, in baptism of thy fire!

Socialism!

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CHRISTMAS "BARGAINS"

By FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH

"Marshall Field and Company announce Special Christmas Bargains in silks, laces and women's finery."

-Chicago Record-Herald.



N every great magazine; in every great metropolitan daily; in every village newspaper; in every cross-roads weekly, throughout that part of the world popularly known as "Christendom"—meaning the territory devoted to Christ,—may be found during December days the counterpart of this advertisement of Marshall Field.

It is interesting to observe how our simplest, most common and unconscious words and actions expose ourhypocrisy of life.

To have our life-fabric so interwoven with pretense and fraud that our obliquity is thus unconsciously exhibited, is

to be vile indeed.

It is to appear morally as vain Chicago women often appear physically: wonderful creatures in their finery, heads erect, peacock pride blazing from their eyes; their faces streaked with soot!

When commonly in any trade we are so "fortunate" as to get a bargain, we bar the gain of the other party to the transaction; that is, we beat him.

When we get a Christmas bargain we do the other fellow up partly for our gain and partly to celebrate the birth of Jesus.

In every bargain one party to the trade must lose,—that the profit of the other may be gained.

When we buy a silk waist at a bargain it may be some consumptive girl of the sweat-shop or factory that goes hungry or naked to the extent of our gain.

When we get a bargain in rare lace it may be some worn woman with dimmed eyes and patient fingers that is underpaid.

Under present conditions either profit to the merchant or bargain to the purchaser means deprivation of the worker.

Whenever we buy a thing of any kind without paying the full value of it, somewhere down the line of production will be found human labor unrequited: the transaction bears upon its face the stain of human blood.

The coupling of the word bargain with the birthday of Christ exhibits Christian society exactly as it is, a hideous infidelity: a profanation of human life.

Christianity is so defiled that its unconscsous language, finding expression in common advertisements, publishes its glaring infamy.

To make the birth-month of the gentle Jesus a time of huckstering; to allow for a single instant the association of his name with the idea of human exploitation, is to debauch his image and to drag his ideals in the mire

Is it not singular that the Socialist, whom the average Christian in his futile ignorance reckons an enemy of law and order, should feel called upon to defend Jesus against defamation at the hands of those who profess his philosophy?

Merry Christmas! This is Christ's birthday. Peace on Earth: good

will to men.

Have you succeeded in getting any bargains;—in robbing or beating any body?
PRAISE THE LORD!

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WILL SOCIALISM AID THE WORK OF THE CHURCH?

By ISAAC PETERSON

A paper read before the Church Club (Bpiscopalian) of Minnesota at its banquet in the Commerical Club rooms, St. Paul, Nov. 8, 1903.



BELIEVE that it was Demosthenes who said that "every argument should be preceded by a proposition, which proposition it should be the burden of the argument to prove." The proposition I desire to submit and which I shall attempt to prove, is that Socialism will aid the work of the Church, that the Church will be enabled the better and more completely to fulfill its mission of developing Christian character, of establishing the love of God and of our fellowman in the hearts of men, in short, of saving men's souls, under a Socialist state of society than under the present capitalistic state.

First, then, what is meant by Socialism in this discussion? By it is meant the evolution of society from the capitalistic individualism under which we live into the Co-operative Commonwealth. The Rev. Lucian V. Rule defines Socialism as "a scientific solution of the economic problem, a solution which must ultimately be embodied in the law of every civilized land, resulting in the establishment of a world federation of freedom, which federation was germinal in the Mosaic ideal."

We see this evolution going on around us in the organization of industry into vast corporations and trusts, on the one hand, and the organization of the workingmen of the world into a class-conscious, revolutionary political party, on the other. Our present tremendous industrial development is only an index of progress. The Socialist party assumes to interpret this progress, this development, and to prepare the minds and wills of men to cope with the new conditions

Under the Co-operative Commonwealth, I believe that the Church will be able much more effectively to do her work than under existing conditions. The chief occupation of life for the great majority of men is to get a living, to get food, clothing, and shelter. These are absolutely essential to life; they must be had by everyone. But in order to get these necessities we do not co-operate; we compete against each other, and the strongest get the largest share. Sometimes some of us are strong enough to secure a monopoly of some necessity, and then we dole it out to the needy at the highest practicable price, entirely ignoring our Lord's injunction, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Hence, it comes that this commandment, so reverently listened to on Sunday, is broken on the other six days of the week, not because we are bad or perverse necessarily. Most of us would, I am sure, prefer to make a living without taking it in profits out of our brethren, at least if we could make as good or a better living than we do now. But as industry is organized we are .compelled to live off our brothers by taking profits, interest and rents from them. Socialism would do away with profit, interest and rent-taking. Men would work for and with each other co-operatively instead of against each other competitively. How

much of strife and envy and covetousness, of lying and cheating and falsifying, of setting the hand of brother against brother would be done away with! By mitigating the hindrances to the leading of a more spiritual life, Socialism would improve the conditions under which the Church must work.

Now, gentlemen, it is next to impossible for a man to live the Golden Rule in business under the capitalistic system. The man who tries it will end up either in the poor house or in the insane asylum. "Do others as they would do you and do it first" is the maxim usually followed in business. And what a depth of meaning and questionable morality is encompassed in the phrase, "business is business!" Now, the Church is using up a large part of her energy combating the adverse and artificially induced conditions under which we are all compelled to work to get a living.

But, I think I hear some one say: "Why Socialism is anarchy, and the Church stands for law and order." You were never more mistaken. Socialism would abolish the anarchy which exists in the present system of production and distribution and the lawlessness of wealth. It would place the ownership of all the means of production and distribution in the hands of the people to be run co-operatively, and enough of all things necessary for man's comfort would be made. And these things would not be made for the profit of some individual, who perhaps already has more than he can possibly squander upon himself, but for the use of all. There will be no anarchy in this; there will be the maximum of system.

And Socialism does not mean "dividing up." It is the compulsory process of dividing up to the trusts, the railroads, the retailers, and so on, to which the working class objects. When the workingman has divided up his meager wage for bare necessities he is fortunate if he has anything left. Nor does it mean "dead level" equality. No two persons are exactly alike, nor can they be made to be alike, any more than two leaves from a tree can be found alike; but it does mean equality of opporunity. It does mean that the value of buman lives is equal.

Neither will incentive and ambition be destroyed. It will strengthen, purify, and elevate ambition, placing it upon a higher plane. Also, it is an error to assume that Socialism will demoralize the sacredness of the home. Socialism will make it possible for more to have a real home. Cut out private profit in the liquor business, one of the great home-destroyers, and you will do away with seventy-five per cent of the evil connected with that. Take away the private profits connected with the sexual vices, and at the same time make it possible for young people to marry without fear of failure of material support, and the social evil would be greatly decreased. All these things would make the conditions under which the Church's work must be done more favorably for the deepening of spirituality and the spread of the Kingdom.

Here is another consideration: Look at the thousands of little children ground to an early death in the profit-grinding cotton mills of the south mills owned and operated by Christian gentlemen from New England! Mr. John Wood, Secretary of the Church's Missionary Society, in speaking of a visit to a southern cotton mill, says, in the October number of the "Spirit of Missions:" "I saw children who may have been ten years old, but who

certainly seemed nearer eight, working twelve hours a day amid the nerve-racking noise and heavy atmosphere of a huge cotton mill. It was a sight to stir ones pity, but more than that, to make one's indignation hot.' These same Christian gentlemen, the employers of these little ones, would not allow the Georgia legislature at its last session to pass any sort of a child labor law. All this because the business of business is to make profits, to make money: make it honestly if you can, but make money. Socialism will do away with child-labor.

In its last analysis, the present system is fundamentally wrong: the principle underlying it is to get more than you give. This tends to immorality whether it is done at the gambling table, in the bucket shop, on "change", in selling goods or real estate at a price higher than that paid for it, or in taking advantage of a fellowman's necessity in any way. This false principle, inherent in the system, continually compels men to act in an inconsistent, vacillating, and contradictory manner. Men in the grip of the profit-system must shift according to arising contingencies. The iniquity of the system makes dissemblers and hypocrities of us all.

Right here, I believe, is one reason why more men do not go to church. They feel that their actions on Sunday would not comport well with what they are compelled to do on Monday and they stay away. Another reason is that the competitive struggle in which men are engaged is so strenuous as to leave them no time nor thought for anything else. Socialism would enable them to put the Christian principles instilled on Sunday into practice on Monday.

Some one will say, "This is utopian; you would have to change human nature. The ideal is too high." The ideal is indeed high, but not too high. Unless ideals are high there will be no progress. "Have we soul enough to dream of justice? Then have we soul enough to live it." The world is always crying, "Impossible;" but does that make it so? The ideal of the Co operative Commonwealth is passing beyond the dream-stage into the realm of practical certainty, and the higher man's ideal in material things the higher will it rise in spiritual things.

Just one more point: I verily believe that the Church can never fully win the workingman under the capitalistic system, because the workingman feels that the Church is for the rich, that the rich largely support it, and therefore expect a monopoly of its ministrations. Rightly or wrongly, when the working man hears the clergyman preach contentment and submission, in what is to him a world of poverty and extortion, he feels that the man of God is not on his side. Under such conditions the Church approaches the workingman with a tremendous handicap.

It is undeniably true that the work of eradicating sin and suffering and of leading men to a higher life can be more effectively accomplished under a condition of peace and tranquillity than under a condition of war; where education and enlightenment reign rather than ignorance: where cleanliness prevails rather than filth; where men live in beautiful surroundings rather than in squalor and rags; where men work together in unity rather than in competition. If this be true, then Socialism will not hinder but will further the Church in her work, for Socialism will bring hese things to pass.

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WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor

As we can best help those with whom we are best acquainted, the editor of this department invites criticism, comment and inquiry. All such communications should be addressed to her at Station M. Chicago, III,

Whate'er thy dearest wish may be, that is the wish I wish for thee.

ONE CHRISTMAS

"The uninvited Christmas guest brings good luck to the home."

How many homes will there be this year where friends dare not intrude, because they know there is always insufficient food for those who gather round the board? Do you know how the very poor live? Let me tell you of a Christmas endured by the sempstresses of whom I spoke last month.

The early morning light crept through the dilapidated window-shade into a dingy ten-by-ten apartment, which was the only shelter of the eight girls. It fell across four bedticks filled with straw, which were placed side by side on the floor, leaving a three-by-ten passageway as the only remaining space. A packing box, in which the girls kept their scanty wardrobes, took up much of this strip of floor. On the box stood a tiny oil stove, a few cracked dishes, a pail, wash bowl, pan, some tin spoons, a sack of corn meal and a bag of salt.

One girl after another rubbed her eyes, yawned and wearily rose, shaking out her dress to remove the wrinkles caused by having to wear it as a night robe, in order to keep warm. After making a hasty toilet and eating their meagre breaskfast, they proceeded to draw lots.

"I do wish I'd been number eight," mouned the one who had drawn the slip marked one. "It will be frightfully cold bathing here."

But she must put a washbowlful of water on the oil stove and when it was warm, the other seven girls went to walk, laughingly assuring her that they knew she would be "lively" about taking her bath. In half an hour the seven returned, number two took number one's place and the others again walked around town. So the weary half hours dragged by and before noon the eight had walked three and a half hours, in order that each might have privacy in which to take a sponge bath.

After a dinner of mush, enlivened by attempts at cheerful conversation, most of the girls decided to go to bed to keep warm, while a few took another walk. There was a mush supper and the eight enjoyed the "Chrismas gift" of their employer: twenty-five cent seats in a cheap theatre.

This was the holiday of girls who usually worked six days in the week, spending the seventh as they spent this Christmas, except for the evening entertainment. Two of them earned a wage which would have afforded a better dwelling place; but if these two had withdrawn from the little co-operate we household, the others would have suffered, or entered lives of shame.

Let us remember on Christmas day the thousands who live as did these girls; and then spend a few minutes studying the statistics of deaths

among children of the very poor. I have been with these girls when they made their simple wedding preparations, when the first babe was born, when it sickened, when it died. I have watched with them while the second baby wasted away, and sometimes helped them bury the third or fourth child. Infants are not strong when born of mothers who endured semi-starvation in girlhood—which fact may help to a better understanding of figures that seem appalling.

THE HOLIDAY SPIRIT

What can we do at Christmas time?

Freewill offerings of helpful thoughts must head the list of our gifts. We can so broaden our grasp on "fellowship" that it will include the universe. That is our first duty, since we can not lift the world's burden until we feel its weight and such at-one-ment comes only with the realization of human solidarity. All are "our sort" whether they dwell in palaces or hovels, have dark skins or light and all need us. An old Sanskrit book words this most beautifully:

"Let thy soul lend its ear to every cry of pain like as the lotus bares its heart to drink the morning sun. Let not the fierce sun cry one tear of pain before thyself hast wiped it from the sufferer's eye. But let each burning human tear drop on thy heart and there remain; nor ever brush it off until the pain that caused it is removed."

The Christmas spirit requires that we feel with as well as for those who suffer, yet never lose hold of the fact that the end (which is shortly) is good.

A joyous word rightly spoken aids more than all the material charity ever given, so however much our hearts ache, we should bring the smile of hope to our faces and especially to our eyes; I know that every smile given another "strikes in" and aids the bruised heart of the bestower.

Then we must not forget the gift of freedom for the unborn. Have we all so shaken of the grave-clothes of outgrown ideas that our little ones can enter earth-life unhampered? No honest woman can afford to evade this query.

Finally, we can search for that which keeps mankind from the enjoyment of those inalienable rights, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and having found this obstacle we can continue to draw attention to it and work to remove it by way of the ballot box, even though we work by proxy.

These things may the weakest of us do to make this beautiful old world a home to all, to make more real the fact that "life is joy." There is plenty of sorrow in existence and we dare not ignore it, but let us keep full of inward peace while we fight the dragon, and let us not worry because our dollars have not ten-fold power. We can all radiate happiness, even when our hearts are heavy with grief and our bodies weary with the struggle for existence.

The future presses. Tomorow can not wait. Humanity has not a minute to lose. Quick, quick! Let us hasten. The wretched have their feet on red-hot iron; they hunger, they thirst, they suffer—Let the human race breathe,—VICTOR HUGO.

CAPITALISM'S ENCOURAGEMENT OF GENIUS

So often we hear; what will the Co-operative Commonwealth do for special talent, for genius outside the ordinary lines? Next time it is asked, suppose we inquire what competition has done for those born with exceptional gifts.

Mme. Janauschek is an actress who never lowered her art, whose presentations have been excellent, whose fame as woman and professional has been clean. She has worked faithfully for more than forty years, but because of unfortunate financial investments she is now poor. At seventy-three, she is alone, hopeless, helpless, ill. Even the gifts received during her long career and the costumes which she has used have been sold at public auction, for a fraction of their value, and the receipts from this source will soon be exhausted. There is one place open to most of the stage folk situated as she is, but it was provided by the goodwill of the brotherhood not the system of capitalism. Unfortunately Forrest Home at Philadelphia does not receive attendents, and in her paralyzed condition she needs one, so can not enter there.

Here is only one of hundreds of examples of what present economic conditions have done for true artists. Recently a Canadian artist (who had come to Chicago for his health, failed rapidly and been obliged to depend upon his wife for support) committed suicide rather then longer be a burden to the frail little woman who bore his name. Of course he had a false prospective of life, or he would have known that he was adding to the wife's load instead of lightening it; but what of the conditions which seemed to make it necessary that he should choose between instant death and the slower but no less certain process of death due to poverty?

WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION

Comrades are requested to send in reports of meetings or methods which may be helpful to others who are attempting the same line of work. In every field there will be found some conditions not duplicated elsewhere and an account of these may aid others. Make all articles brief.

Mrs. Garbutt, Supt. of Dept. of Parliamentary Law, will soon prepare some helpful matter for this side of our work. Those of us who know her, will be prepared for a treat, as her lovely personality shines in all that she does. This is a somewhat informal announcement but it comes from the heart.

By the by, in the Woman's Department I shall never use the editorial "we" unless it indicates plurality. This is a matter of choice, of course, but I like to get close to the hearts of women and think some conventionalities stand in the path.

CHILDREN'S DEP'T ANNOUNCEMENT

Beginning with the next issue, the Woman's Dep't will contain short talks with young folk, designed for the help of the mothers as well. It

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seems difficult for some women to teach evolution without loosening the child's hold on the eternal verities and these chats are to bridge over that chasm. Some of the earlier articles have already been published in other papers but will be reproduced here, later ones will be prepared especially for this dep't. The first series will treat briefly of the birth, growth and unfoldment of our earth mother, up to the advent of man. I love children, so I believe mothers will find that I understand their needs.

Before being a wife or mother, one is a human being: and neither motherly nor wifely destination can over-balance or replace the human, but must become its means, not end. Above the mother does the human being rise pre-eminent.—JEAN PAUL RICHTER.

HOW CAPITALISM "WORKS"

By BOLTON HALL.

"The Rich don't seem to make anything. What is it they save?" asked Hodge of Professor Status Quo.

"Well, for one thing," said the Professor, "they save you from the temptations of riches. The poor we have always with us—to do onr dirty work."

"Then, it's our money they save?" said Hodge.

"Well. yes; of course, in a sense," said Professor Quo: "it is reward of their abstinence from consuming what you produce—they save out of the interest on their investments."

"What are investments?" asked Hodge.

"Why, land and stocks and bonds, railroads and factories and streetcars, and mines, such as you work in."

"But," said Hodge, "I work hard and yet have little to spend and nothing to invest."

"Yes; but you work only with your hands. They work with the $\hat{\vec{r}}$ brains, organizing labor."

"Organizing labor! What's labor?" said Hodge.

"Labor," said the Professor, "is you and your friends. They organize you—the lower classes."

"Yes," persisted Hodge, "but what do they do? Do they invent, or do they write books? If they don't work on things, or work the land what do they work?"

"Why, you Dunderhead," said the Professor, "they work you."

It requires only a little effort to secure one new subscriber to The Vanguard every week. But it would mean a score or more Socialist voters to your credit for the general election of next year. If all our subscribers would do this it would mean many thousands of converts to our cause. Will You not do your share?

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BRIEF TALKS ON SUGGESTION

By A. C. HALPHIDE, M. D., Chicago.

3. What is the Best Method of Hypnotizing?



ANY persons have asked this question and many others shall ask it even after I have answered it to the best of my ability. safe to say that there is no best method of hypnotizing for any method is not always efficacious. The method that succeeds with one will fail with another person, or with the same

person at another time, therefore, the best method in any case is the one that will succeed with that particular subject. Perhaps the most satisfactory answer to my readers would be a short explanation of couple of the more common methods used in hypnotizing and so I shall answer the question in

that way.

The person should be prepared for the hypnotization before any method is tried. He should be prepared in mind by the removal of all doubts, fears, curiosity and the like. This may be accomplished by candidly asuring him that there is no danger and carefully explaining what is about to be done. His bodily preparation consists in being made comfortable in a chair or on a couch for hypnosis like natural sleep may be kept away by a very small cause.

The verbal method was introduced

in the West by Abbe Faria on his return from a journey into the far East. He was accustomed to seat his subject with closed eyes and then command sleep in an authoritative tone of voice. Liebeault of Nancy France improved the method by substituting persuasion for command. At present we use the method as follows: After the subject has been p*operly prepared suggestions are open them that he is now hypnotized made in a soothing, persuasive, and cannot awaken until orders to do monotonous tone of voice, to the so. This combined method rarely

asleep and is fast losing himself, that he is fast asleep and that he is having a restful nap and will not awake until he is instructed so to do. Such suggestions continued for five or more minutes will usually hypnotize a susceptable person and he is then ready for experimentation or treatment.

The fixation gaze method was perfected by James Braid, a surgeon of Manchester, England, but probably not first used by him. This method of hypnotization has been pretty generally adopted by hypnotists every where and has been used either alone or in combination with the verbal method just described. The method is very simple and effective and is as follows: After the subject has been comfortably adjusted, a small object is held before his eyes at a distance of eight or ten inches and a little above his range of vision. The results will speedily follow, in from a few seconds to a few minutes, the subject's eyelids will fall shut and his head droop to one side and he will pass into a state of hypnosis. The hand should then be placed upon the hypnotee's forehead and a slight downward pressure be made upon the eye-brows and the patient will be ready' for his treatment. The object held before the eyes is immaterial unless a small revolving mirror can be had which is especially efficacious.

A combination of the above two is the writer's favorite method and it comes nearest to being the best method that he knows. As the object is held before the subject's eyes suggestions are given to the effect that he is about to be hypnotized, that he is becoming drousy and his eyelids are heavy, that his eyes are closing in spite of his efforts to keep them open, that they, are closed and he cannot effect, that he is about to go to sleep, fails with the more susceptible perthat he is becoming sleepy, very sons but no method is infallible. Subsleepy, that he is going to sleep for it jects must be individualized. It is a is easier for him to go to sleep than good practice to find out what the to keep awake, that he is almost person knows of hypnotism and adapt

the method to suit his expectation: if ness, that he is calm and comfortable have his head rubbed rub it, or his hands held hold them for what he expects to succeed is likely to succeed. Bear in mind that the whole operation is simply a matter of co-operation for no one can be hypnotized without his willing or unwilling consent. Do not believe any one who says that the hypnotist has a peculiar power that he can use to cast an horrid spell over his victims for it is not true. The only power he has is knowledge and that any one can have at the cost of a little study,

The reader will find above all of the directions necessary to guide him in the successful induction of the hypnotic sleep or hypnosis as it is technically called, for a full discussion of subject he is referred to the textbooks on the subject. The use of hypnotism however is not necessary to the successful use of suggestive therapeutics as will be fully set forth in another paper.

How are subjects dehypnotized? Suggestion is the key to the solution of all of the problems of hypnotism and if this is understood and borne in mind no difficulty or anxiety will be experienced in its use. suggestion subjects are hypnotized and by suggestion they are dehypnotized, the means that induces hypnosis also readily remove it. An understanding of the laws of suggestion will quickly remove the fear that deters many intelligent persons from the use of hypnotism. The exagerated and sensational reports in the newspapers are responsible for the unreasoning fear of hypnotism which is so general in the popular mind in this country. There is no real occasion for such fears as will be shown directly.

The subject should, in the first place, be prepared for the change from hypnosis to normal consciousness. A sudden transition from a subconscious to a conscious state of mind or the reverse may result in harm by unduly shocking the nervous system. Stage subjects sometimes nervous wrecks on this account who otherwise suffer no harm. The preparation consists in giving

he expects passes make them, or to and that he will feel well and happy when he opens his eyes. After he has been thus prepared he is dehypnotized by continuing the suggestions somewhat as follows: "Now you are about to awaken, when I count three you will open your eyes and be fully awake, ready, one, two, three, you are awake. Open your eyes." Compare this method with its easy transition with the one practiced by many stage hypnotists which consists in snapping the fingers and shouting "All right! All right! !" often bringing a subject out of a profound, emotional state with no preparation for the transi-

> The stories of persons whom it was difficult and apparenly impossible to dehypnotize are not all false but all of the difficulties and attendant fears might readily have been avoided had the hypnotizer understood suggestion for they are always due to unintentional or unwise suggestions. A student at the medical college hypnotized a fellow student and was so excited by his success that he lost his head and said in the presence of the subject that he was afraid that he The hypcould not dehypnotize him. notized student accepted this remark as a suggestion and could not be aroused by this fellow. They sent for me to help them out of their dilemma which was easily accomplished for the hypnotee accepted the suggestion that I would quickly awaken him, However, it would have done quite as well to have laid him on a couch and left him alone to awaken himself. The tendency of an hypnotized person is to pass into a natural sleep and then to awaken as from an ordinary nap. Persons sometimes pass from hypnosis into profound sleep while they are being treated, in such a case, they are awakened by a vigorous shaking or similar means. Therefore, we may say without fear successful contradiction that the dangers from hypnotism, in this connection at least, are always nil.

Those who receive a copy of this issue without having paid for it will undertand that it is sent through the kindness of a friend, with the hope the subject a few soothing sugges- that the reader will become sufficienstions to the effect that he is about to tly interested to subscribe and thus return to a normal state of concious- reeceive THE VANGUARD regularly.

BOOKS WORTH READING



BRIDGE: A Romance of Shay's Rebellion, by Edward Bellamy: Siver, Burdette and Co., N. Y. This is not a new book, but is one deserving more notice than it received at the hands of these who admire the more popular works.

"Looking Backward" in 1879, and de- latures, arms were laid down. layed in the publication for what the author deemed his more serious duty loving and kindly spirit will see new of advocating the cooperative social system. Shortly before his death tion of this book, but did not live to

completely edit it.

The same sincerity of purpose which led him to spend ten years of lination of Yankee character and ing time to absorb such information, scenes of a century ago. It is not as the trusts slowly but surely squeeze strictly pure fiction, for the hero is out their lives. an historical character, yet the setting is purposely arranged to bring out the intense class distinctions of those days. It is not flattering to those who prate of our great and free republic to know that only a little over one hundred years ago such clearly marked social lines existed. Especially would the "Daughters of the Revolution." or the "Sons" of the same, who seem to be intent upon perpetuating the caste of those days, delight in at least one side of these pictures.

Mr. Bellamy has chosen a period little written upon and given a thorooughly vivid and appreciative picture of conditions that still remain to be righted, conditions that will continue to cry out for solution until

"Equality" is inaugurated.

debts and taxes, are in sharp con- this Mr. Heuver has supplied. trast with the hardness and hauteur of the very few who held the reins of have segregated and presented the

DUKE OF STOCK- wealth and social position.

Many of the solutions of their ills, all legal and peaceable, as proposed by the sufferers themselves, gathered in tap-room, the Sunday-night since been more or less widely tried, and are here aptly delineated as the psototypes of quite recent alleged

panaceas.

The historical struggle ran on, as author for his other every reader knows, thru' a very long and severe New England winter, with The book is a faithful the odds now on one side and now, on portrayal of a bit of serious social the other, until with the proclamahistory, written, as Francis Bellamy tion of the Governor and the modifica-says in the introduction, before tion of the debtor laws by the legis-

> Every admirer of Mr. Bellamy's lustre added to his name by this story.

Those who read and admire this or Mr. Bellamy decided upon the publica- his better-known books are not necessarily Socialists in the true sense but may become so because of the new incentive to thought to be found in the same. These books are a sort of careful study and preparations in leaven for the middle classes that writing "Equality" shows in the ac- Socialists should not despise, for curacy of statement and careful de- more and more are these classes find-

W. E. LEONARD.

TEACHINGS OF "THE **JESUS** CONCERNING WEALTH" 12 mo. cloth, pp. 1-208, by Gerald D. Heuver with introduction by Rev. Herrick Johnson, D. D., L. L. D. Published by Revell, New York, London and

Chicago. \$1.00 net.

A man's teachings become important as an economic factor in proportion to the number of his followers. In view of the multitudes prepared to accept as authoritative and final whatever clear declaration Jesus of Nazareth may have made on the subject treated by Mr. Heuver, it becomes clear at once that this book possesses a timeliness and interest of the very highest kind. There was the Co-operative Commonwealth of wanted, not mere worshipful ecstasy of comment and moralizing-that we The apathetic and hopeless poverty have and to spare-but a clear, disof the common people for seven years criminating presentation of what after the Revolution, and the cruelty Jesus did actually teach on this vital of the laws for the collections of subject of riches and their use. Just

Nor was it enough that we should

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actual precepts of the Teacher of assimilate whatever is good in it. Gal·lee. Doctrines take their coloring Medical orthodoxoy must learn the from time and circumstance. Recognizing this, with rare crudition and condensation, the author, by careful study of the original and contemporaneous sources, restores, from the actual situation-complex social and commerical life, obtruding economic questions, desperate condition of the common people—the real background against which the Prophet's teachings stand out in bold relief.

The style is simple, direct and therefore forceful. The poise and objective attitude of the student so characterize the whole treatment that no more than three or tour paragraphs hint the author's position toward the theological considerations involved. These, however, are sufficient to reassure the vast evangelical host, without detracting from the treatise's value as a handbook of the subject for scholars. So thorough has been the research and so impartial the presentation of its results, and so complete their grounding upon the primitive sources, of which, on important points, it is little more than a translation, that this modest volume will be praised by the discerning as itself one of the authorities in the important field which it covers.

The book is well printed and bound, and an excellent index adds to its worth and convenience.

GRANVILLE R. PIKE.

Spiritual Healing and Their Contribution to the Growth of Orthodoxy. It has for its sole object the in-Heber Newton, D. D. G. P. Putman & Sons, New York.

ject is that it is a judicial presenta-tion of both sides of the question, and not a partisan appeal for or against is not for the sick but for those who metaphyscial or spiritual healing. Newton admits the truth of much that is taught by Christian ternational Health League and any Science, but also points out what readers of The Vanguard who send he regards as its errors One quotation ought to the scattered far and be made a member of the League wide, for the benefit of both relig- with all its many benefits one year

same lesson."

Literary Notes

Two new issues of the Pocket Library of Socialism are before us, "Socialism and the Organized Labor Movement," by May Wood Simons, and "The Capitalist's Union, or Labor Union: Which?" No. 33 of the Pocket Library has been revised and contains in its present form the National platform, resolutions National convention, National constitution, and directory of Socialist locals. These booklets sell for 5 cents each. Address this office.

The Rev. Irl R. Hicks Almanac for 1904 is now ready. It will be mailed to any address for 30 cents. It is surprising how such an elegant, costly book can be sent prepaid so cheaply, No family or person is prepared to study the heavens, or the storms and weather in 1904, without this wonderful Hicks Almanac and Prof. Hicks splendid paper, Word and Works. Both are sent for only one dollars a year. Word and Works is among the best American Magazines. Like the Hicks Almanac, it is too well known to need further commendation. Few men have labored more faithfully for the public good or found a warmer place in the hearts of the people. Send orders to Word and Works Publishing Co., 2201 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo.

 \mathbf{THE} GOOD HEALTH CLINIC, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE: The Truths of one of our exchanges, is the only magazine of its kind in the world. crease of "good health" among its readers. It has nothing to sell but The difference between this book the best methods of securing perand all others we have seen on the subject is that it is a judicial presentabeauty and long life. It is quoted all over the world as authority. It would live in health 100 years.

It is the official organ of the In-50c for one year's subscription will this, "Religious orthodoxy has learn-ed the lesson. through bitter experience, that the only way to make Address GOOD HEALTH CLINIC an end of heresy is to absorb and 452 Salina St. Syracuse, N. Y. U. S. A.

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SOCIALIST HEADOUARTERS



To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In some states, as for instance in Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY,

ROOMS 303-304, McCague Bldg., Omaha, Neb.

Notes of Progress

Of the 62 labor candidates at present in the political field in Great Britian, 34 are declared Socialists.

From Venice, the former residence of the new pope, comes a report which shows the attitude of Pius X to the labor movement. Some time ago. the women workers in the tobacco factory of Venice started a movement for an increase of their miserable wages. They formed a league and appealed to the trade unions in Milan, Turin and Florence for their co-operation. The managers heard of it. One fine day, the Patriarch Sarta (the present pope,) surrounded by all the chief managers of the factory, appeared in the main work-hall and gave a long sermon against the poison of Socialism and against the bold uprising of the discontented in opposition to the authority appointed by God. As the church prince finished his discourse, the managers wished to make trial of the effect and ordered all the women who would not join the league to raise a hand. And then a wonder came to pass: not even a single hand was raised, and very quietly the honorable visitors retreated from the factory hall.

the Socialists of To the United States of America.

Comrades:—For the past eighteen months, the Socialists of New York union newspaper in the United States, to be called the "New York Globe."

By hard work and constant effort, we have managed to collect over \$13,000 in cash; an additional sum of about \$6,000 has been pledged and paid in this winter. With will be several hundred dollars more already pladged by the more progressive trade unions the sum of \$20,000 is already in sight. As it will require a capital of at least \$50,000 to successfully launch and uphold a daily newspaper in the city of New York, where we shall have to combat and compete with the largest capitalist dailies in the country, a larger amount than we have on hand at present is needed, and we therefore again call the attention of all Socialists of America to the grand undertaking of the New York comrades and appeal to them to help us in our efforts by contributing such amounts to the Daily Globe Fund as each one individually can afford to give for this purpose.

The establishment of the first Socialist daily is a matter which should concern and interest every Socialist in America. It is not a local matter but one of national importance to the Socialist movement. The publication of the daily will have beneficial effect upon the movement all over the land and will strengthen the Socialist Party organization in every state. Comrades, we therefore appeal to you in behalf of the cause of Socialism and the speedy adoption of Socialist principles, which can best be accomplished through the medium of a daily Socialist press to contribute at once to the fund for the establishment of the Daily Globe

The Daily Globe should be published during the Presidential campaign and if every Socialist in the country will contribute we shall have enough money to begin publication in the near future.

Address all communications "Daily Globe," Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York City.

Comrade W. E. Arrant, of Alto, Tex., has opened a Home Socialist Library, where he hopes to keep at all times a supply of books and literaand vicinity have been at work rais- ture for those who will read. Any ing funds for the establishment of comrade who has a pamphlet or book the first daily Socialist and trade which he desires to put in circulation could not do better than to send it to W. E. Arrant, Alto, Tex.

A MENTAL TONIC.

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al if necessary and pay for it, and we want the hours of labor cut down until every laborer can have a chance to earn these wages, and we intend to have it, too—see? You philanthropists are the very people who by your robberv of labor make charity and "philanthropy" (same thing under a high sounding name) necessary.—PUEBLO COURIER.

Socialism would not break up the home of the workingman, but it might cause the millionaire to get along with a few less servants in his house.—ERIE PEOPLE.

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VEGETARIAN MAGAZINE, 165 Dearborn Street, Chicago. The following is an editorial from the San Diegan-Sun of October 17, 1903. We reproduce it not only because it defines the position of Rev. Benjamin Fay Mills to which we refer elsewhere (for Mr. Mills has for years proclaimed the fundamental principles of Socialism) but because of its remarkable discussion thereof. It is a sign of the times when a daily newspaper of such standing disusses Socialism in this fashion.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY MR. MILLS

It was of course a foregone conclusion, when Rev. Benjamin Fay Mills announced his intention of returning to evangelistic work, that he would attract popular attention. His campaign of a decade ago is not forgotten by those who then heard him. He then swayed the minds and hearts of millions of men. But it is not probable that many, even of those who heard him ten years ago and have followed him since, were prepared for the announcement he made last night: "I am a Socialist."

It came as a surprise to all, and to some possibly as a shock, but it is not probable that those Who listened to his reasonings and his conclusions were grievously shocked, for Mr. Mills certainly maintained his ground with strong argument. He said:

"I am a Socialist, because I believe as Edmond Kelly says in his book, 'that Christianity is possible only in a society organized to transact its business unselfishly.' The organization of business on the principle of unrestricted competition, where the motto is. 'Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost.' where the success of one means the failure of another and the wealth of one the poverty of another, denies every fundamental proposition of religion, including the fatherhood of God. the brotherhood of man, the leadership of Jesus and the all-sufficiency of love."

The shock caused by such declarations is due to the fact that they came from a preacher, and not because the declarations can be successfully denied. In fact most any student of the doctrines of Christianity and the world's methods of business, must be compelled to admit that they have been and are in conflict with each other. Christianity teaches, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." It also says that charity is the greatest of the graces. But business, which the average man must

practice six days in the week, and on which he must keep a watchful eye even on the seventh day, says: "Grasp and hold to yourself all reachable advantages to the end that you may gain success, while others are forced to failure."

Thus the world has had six days and more of practical selfishness, while less than a day has been granted to the development of unselfishness. Mr. Mills has discovered this condition of affairs and has boldly announced that fact. That is all.

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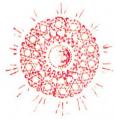


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JANUARY, 1904



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The Christ of the twentieth century is pre-eminently the social Christ and as such is greater than all that has gone before.

- William De Witt Hyde.

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The great merit of Marx therefore, lies in the work he has done as a scientific inquirer into the the economic movement of modern times, as the philosophic historian of the capitalistic era.—Encyclopædia Britannica



The VANGUAR D

"We're beaten back in many a fray, Yet newer strength we borrow, And where the vanguard camps today, The rear shall rest tomorrow.

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., JANUARY, 1904.

NO. 5.

Our inequality materializes our upper class, vulgarizes our middle class, brutalizes We owe our uncivilizedness to our inequality.

Culture seeks to do away with the classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, where they may use ideas freely, -nourished and not bound by This is the social idea; and the men of culture are the apostles of equality.

The feudalism of capital is not a whit less formidable than the feudalism of force. The millionaire of today is as dangerous to society as was the baronial lord of the middle ages. I may as well be dependent for my head as for my bread. The time is sure to come when men will look back upon the prerogative of capital with as just and severe condemnation as we now look back on the predatory chieftains of the dark ages. -Horace Mann.

ance and superstitions of the past, proclaims it in the beauty and They may have some use in showing jo of emulation where all may strive the progress made and the things and none need lose, in contrast to from which the race has escaped the cruelty of competition where whothrought development. To study the ever wins does so at the expense of bickerings and quarrels of theolog- his fellows. ians of the dark ages, or even of a century ago, over dogmas and creeds, gust and loathing at the littleness, force of following. He says: bitterness and cruelty of the professthe glorious religion of humanity.

The competitive system is at best a fierce combat with the prize of success going not to the best man but to the strongest and shrewdest and in most cases to the most unscrupulous

We take little stock in the ignor- ment of individual character and

One does not have to accept litforms and ceremonials, if it does not erally Edward Bellamy's picture of make one atheistic, must cause dis- the ideal commonwealth to feel the

"The present social and economic good. It certainly contains system is morally abominable and nothing helpful, unless taken as a thoroughly anti-christian, it destroys warning. Let us be thankful that men's souls aud bodies. Neverthethe twentieth century is one of free less, you must not think of trying thought and free faith; and let us to change it for a better system, beset to work in earnest to preach the cause you are not yet good enough to gospel of the new world and propagate try to be better. It is necessary that you should wait until you are more righteous, before you attempt to leave off doing evil, You must go on stealing and fighting until you shall become ful'y sanctified."

The "human nature" objection to fighter. Nothing could be more di- Socialism is equivalent to saying rectly contrary to the gospel of peace that it is natural for men to lie. Socialism, with cheat, and steal, to plunder and mur-Christianity, recognizes the need of der each other whenever they get the a powerful incentive in the develop- opporunity to do so. Socialists have

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more faith in mankind than to be- is moral. The progress of the race undesirable traits.

(Reprinted by request.) CHRISTIANITY AND **SOCIALISM**

THE VANGUARD believes in Socialism because it believes in Christianity. By Christianity we mean, not theological speculations and ecclesisatical vestments, but the religion and taught; not dogmas and forms the Christ-spirit of justice and brotherhood in all the relations of men to each other. Creeds and churches we believe in only so far as they stand for these things and inspire men to practice them. We further believe in Socialism because we believe in the soundness of its economics. It rests on a thoroughly scientific basis. It offers the only possible solution of the industrial problem. But this is simply saying that the Golden Rule ought to be and can be made the to proclaim the Gospel only wise and safe basis for society of social wrongs, the rigid squaring reach this conculsion by reasoning ene Carpenter's divine square of aspect that which appeals to them ligious forces of America as today. most strongly. difference between the two. . There is push forward to the goal; can bear of Socialism. Both recognize altru- Christ's teachings, to the human welfare and progress. This trial life, or they can still content tremendous force. straight, roads Life is one. Humanity is one. Life the line of least resistance, feeble

lieve such nonsense; but even from is moral progress. It was Mazzini the standpoint of the "human nature" who said. "Every political question objectors, Socialism is desirable, be- is rapidly becoming a social question, cause it will remove most of the op- and every social question a religious portunities for the exhibition of these one." Only let us not confound religion with "religiosity." Here is a distinction which Jesus was ever careful to draw and emphasize. For fasts, fringes and the whole paraphernalia of "religiosity" he cared nothing. For justice and brotherhood he cared everything. This is pure religion, and this is Socialism. Its ethics and the ethics of Christianity are idential.

What, then, shall the attitude of of love and service which Jesus lived the Christian church and ministry be? It is to be hoped that for the but plain every-day right doing and church's own sake it has learned something from history. Yet how sadly true are the words of John Bascom:

> "Reforms of the most imperative character meet with hesitating and wavering support from the church, and sometimes encounter bitter opposition. Most of the social ques-tions of the last hundred years have brought nearly as much discredit as credit to the church."

Surely the time has come for the church to change its attitude and to boldly face the great social problem that is pressing for settlement, and working law of life, that it is the Kingdom which means "the righting government. Some Socialists of institutions and laws by the Nazaralong the purely economic side of the justice." Never was there such an question. Others find in its ethical opportunity before the organized re-There is no real They can lead in the struggle, can unanimity as to the meaning and aim witness to the economic soundness of ism and mutualism as essential to cability of the Golden Rule in indusfundamental agreement is an argu- themselves to lag away behind, fear-All ful of "consequences," careful of lead to Socialism. "bread and butter," choosing ever the

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ineffective, busy with "the puerilities among its adherents. of piety"-a parody on the religion of Jesus.

We are glad to note the increasing number of clergymen who are actively identifying themselves with the Socialist movement. Every week we hear of new accessions and we look for remarkable developments in this direction within the year. There is a strong undercurrent of Socialist sentiment among the ministers of the country. How could it be otherwise? What a field for conscience is here? Says Professor Albion W. Small, head of the department of Sociology in the University of Chicago:

"Capital has become the most undemocratic, inhuman, and atheistic of all heathen divinities. It would be infinitely more for human weal if every dollar of wealth should be cleaned from the earth; if we could have instead of it industry, and honesty, and justice, and love and faith, than be led justice, and love and faith, than be much further into this devil's dance capitalism.

Socialism is nothing else than the protest of the growing social conscience against this most godless, heartless tyranny of the ages. What can the Christian minister do but cast in his lot with the movement?

In a communication to the editor, a clergyman who has recently declared for Socialism, writes:

"Why should I be ashamed of my views on social and economic questions when not ashamed of the truths that cluster around the cross? It will afford me more satisfaction to declare my views now than to wait ten or twenty years until the slanderous misrepresentations of Socialism have been removed and the sublime philosophy of the movement is better seen and more fully an movement is better seen and more fully ap-preciated. In this movement for human welfare the church should be in the front.'

This is surely the manly and reasonable position to take. Any movement for human betterment finds plenty of friends when it has become popular and respectable and when one runs no risk and makes no sac- in this issue by Rev. Owen R. Loverifice in allying himself with it. But joy, the well known Congregational it is little to a man's credit to wait pastor of Mt. Vernon, N. Y. until a good cause has won its way dicates the trend of thought among through the heroic effort of others the ministers and is a timely discusbefore he is willing to enroll himself sion of the class struggle,

No man should stand aloof from Socialism because there may be some things about it in that do not quite suit him or because he is not in accord with every detail of the movement at the present time. We have heard ministers say to those who remained outside and criticized the churches: "If you do not think the churches are what they ought to be, go in and make them better." The point has been well made, and it points both ways. It holds good with reference to the attitude of those who rail at the churches yet who do nothing to improve these organizations. But let our church friends remember that it holds good in regard to their attitude toward the Socialist movement: This movement for social justice and for the uplift of humanity demands their As one who has borne witness to the truth at no small cost writes:

"I could not wait until Socialism should be exactly pleasing to me in all its aspects, or until I should be altogether pleasing to Socialists in some of my views of life; my place was with my comrades, sharing with them their struggles, the defeats and disgraces that are always involved in the first creative steps of an organized movement."

Many persons who today are ready to cast the stone of contempt at Socialist movement anxious enough in a few years be counted among it ardent supporters. This will be especially true with the men in the pulpits and pews of the churches. Already their sympathies are with the movement, and they only lack faith and courage to demand the application of Christ's teachings of justice and brotherhood in the industrial world.

Do not fail to read the able article

THE GOSPEL OF DISCONTENT

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER



OCIALISM has been called the "gospel of discontent." It has been said of it that only the unprosperous and the discontented are its disciples. This is not wholly true, but it is more true than false. And it is right such should be the case.

What betterment would the world ever have known if only the prosperous and contented classes had been consulted? How much misery and suffering would have been permanently done away with? Would religious democracy ever have triumphed if its fate had been left only to those who did not suffer from religious oppression? Or would political de-

mocracy ever have come into being if only those who prospered under despotism had been called upon to decide for it? In truth, what one of all the great reforms of history has come to pass solely through the efforts of those who had nothing to gain by it?

The history of progress is a history of discontent. It is the upward striving of those who suffer from existing evils, and if it were not for their efforts, barren indeed would be the records of reform.

Religious, political and industrial democracy have each and all found many influential advocates and leaders among the "upper classes." But these leaders have been but means, and not the moving cause, of the progress of democracy. Democracy and demagogery have ever gone hand in hand, and it is not likely that they will soon permit of separation. Yet none the less there lies back of their progress the thorough and abiding confidence of the people in the justness of their cause and the certainty of its final victory.

Democratic government is neither theoretically nor historically the creation of the strong, the contented, or the well-to-do. It is the defense of the weak against the oppression of the strong and the selfishness of the well-to-do. The strong are those who need no protection, the contented those who need no improvement of condition. Democracy and Socialism are the refuges of those who need protection and whose welfare demands changed conditions.

So long as there is oppression, there will be a "gospel of discontent," and with its adherents, even with all their demagogery and partisanship, will rest the hope of progress and the assurance of redemption from oppression. Behind them and their effort is the supporting testimony of all history and all experience. Ahead of them is the promise of all justice, all equality and all freedom.

In the haste of its agony the "party of discontent" sometimes makes ill choice. It sometimes mistakes the shadow of good for the substance thereof. But it learns by its error, and is ever less rash in its choice, less precipitate in its action. And its instinct has proven itself ever truer, ever nobler—even in its meanest guise—than the instinct of the apostles of contentment and submission.

The "gospel of discontent" is greater than the gospel of "laissez faire," Its creed is nobler than the creed of those who say, "Let

well enough alone." Its selfishness is of a higher type than even the unselfisness of charity; for it seeks justice to all and favors to none. It seeks not its own happiness alone, but conditions that shall give to all men full opporunity for happiness. And as much greater as justice is than charity, so much is the "gospel of discontent" greater than the servile acceptance of "the things that be."

All "isms" have had some dim shadow of the coming truth in them; else they would not have drawn men to them, says Carlyle. Each dogma, each creed, each religion has in its time but expressed the uppemost and greatest longing of the heart of man in his eternal seeking for the truth. And when it has served its purpose, and pointed out the way to yet better things, it in turn gives way to a new and better-one more step in the progress of human brotherhood.

To this progress the "gospel of discontent" has ever lent its powerful To that progress will it continue to give strong support so long as the spirit of man strives upward. Its message is of the ages. It grows with time and man. And it knows no backward setting.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

But now is near the Commonwealth of Men, Implanted in our hearts and known as LOVE; It calls us from these depths to height above Where we attain our Brotherhood again: It gives grand pleas unto the voice and pen, And doth to noble, generous action move, Until we all its power of blessing prove, And can to kingdom vast in glory ken! Our earth's for all, and each must other bless, Dividing good and bringing greater gain-Of higher nobility of thought and deed. Our lives will suffer us to do no less: Nor may we put aside such duty plain, If we would life with strengh and beauty feed!

-WILLIAM BRUNTON

THE SOCIALIST GOAL

We seek justice and fight injustice. We seek free labor and attack wage slavery. We seek the prosperity of all and struggle against misery. We seek the education of all and fight ignorance and barbarism. We seek peace and order and combat the murder of people, the class-war and social anarchy. We seek the Socialist republic and fight the despotic class state. Whoever wants these things, let him unite with us and work with all his strength for this cause, for the cause of Socialism for the cause of humanity, whose victory will soon be gained .- WILLIAM LIEBNECHT.

It is well enough for politicians and "superficials" to talk of the real harmony between the capitalists and the workingmen, but the plain fact remains that their interests are conflicting and will be always so until the capitalist is the workingman and the workingman the capitalist.

Clarence S. Darrow.



Good Christian People, Please Read This: Then Think a Little

O NOT cheat yourself into thinking that all the finery you can wear is so much put into the hungry mouths of those beneath you. It is not so. It is what you yourselves, whether you will or no, must some time feel it to be-it is what those who stand shivering in the streets, forming a line to watch you as you step out of your carriages, know it to be; those fine dresses do not mean that so much has been put into their mouths, but that so much has been taken out of their mouths. The real politico-economical signification of every one of those beautiful toilets is just this-that you have had a certain number of people put for a certain number of days wholly under your authority by the sternest of slave masters-hunger and cold; and you have said to them, "I will feed you, indeed, and clothe you, and give you fuel for so many days; but during these days you shall work for me only; your little brothers need clothes, but you shall make none for them; your sick friend needs clothes, but you shall make none for her; you yourself will soon need another and a warmer dress, but you shall make none for yourself. You shall make nothing but lace and roses for me; for this fortnight to come you shall work on the patterns and petals, and then I will crush and consume them away in an hour." * * * As long as there are cold and nakedness in the land around you, so long there can be no question at all but that splendor of dress is a crime. In due time, when we have nothing better to set people to work at, it may be right to let them make lace and cut jewels; but as long as there are any who have no blankets for their beds and no rags for their bodies, so long it is blanket-making and tailoring we must set people to work at-not lace.-JOHN RUSKIN.

DO IT NOW

There are thousands of wide-awake people in this country who would be glad to read The Vanguard and help in the work we are seeking to do did they know about it. But they have never seen a copy or been asked to subscribe. These people are among your acquaintances and we can reach them through you. They like vigorous honest thought, and would welcome just such a magazine as ours to their homes. Call on some of these friends, show them THE VANGUARD, get up a club; and help spread the light. For Socialist propaganda there is nothing better than THE VANGUARD. Many comrades say there is nothing quite so good.

SOCIALISM VERSUS CLASS HATRED

By REV. OWEN R. LOVEJOY

PASTOR CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.



N organization has recently been formed by prominent financiers and social and religious leaders, having for its purpose the study of economic problems and "to oppose Socialism and class hatred." This movement is quite in keeping with much that now appears in the "orthodox" press, and from pulpit and platform.

There would be little wisdom in losing one's temper over this apparently studied attempt to confuse the public mind and deter earnest people from an intelligent examination of the principles and program of Socialism. Being on the wining side Socialism can afford to wait and, with line upon line

seek to convince those who are open to conviction that the only possible hope of the destruction of class hatred is in the principles which differentiate Socialism from the dominant economic creed of modern history.

The cause of class hatred lies in the relation that one class sustains to another. The counterpart of hatred is contempt, and where there is one class in society that looks upon down another as its inferior, there will be another class in society which will respond to that look with hatred. For contempt is not passive, it is active and at the heart of much of the injustice history has been compelled to record. The men who look upon their fellew men as inferior, as possessing no rights worthy of respect, will seek opporunities to infringe those rights, to take advantage of the inferior strength or position of others, and when one class is in a position in which it is able to wrong another class, and does wrong, that other class will hate the first.

This fact is apparent in history long before the dawn of the modern Socialist movement. And in every struggle men have made for freedom the cry of "class hatred" has been raised as a deterrent of agitation.

That was a class struggle, not without hatred, when the peasants of Kent, in the fourteenth century, revolted against their conditions and marched on London. The exactions of taxation and service were very heavy. There were the lords and the royal house to be supported, and there was the church-"the Pope," says Petrarch, "sitting as a blight over peoples and nations and tongues." At the beginning of the century the tax to support the Roman church was twelve times as heavy as the civil tax. Half the soil was in the hands of the clergy. Nearly all the other half in the hands of the lords and king. The situation was not ideal-there were those who thought it unendurable-and Wat Tyler and John Ball, both of whom received their inspiration from the humanism of the scholar, John Wycliffe, spread discontent among the crushed and oppressed peasantry until the great revolt took shape, marched on London, and serfdom received its death blow. But the immediate result was not so bright. Tyler was called a disturber of the peace and a sword went through his body, Wycliffe was branded a heretic and a price set on his head, while John Ball, who asserted that there should be no masters and no slaves among the children of the same God, was sentenced for arousing "class hatred" and hanged as a traitorand the peasants were driven with a scourge back to their servitude, and having cried for the bread of justice were rewarded with a stone.

The struggle in France toward the close of the eighteenth century was a Class Struggle-and there was hatred to it. When the Princess was riding through the streets one day and heard the cry of the hungry populace, she innocently asked the cause of the cry. have no bread to eat," answered her companion. "Then why don't they eat cake?" she asked. That was the attitude of the ruling class. There was a superior ignorance of the entire situation among the needy. But when a voice here and there began to be raised against the robbery of the poor by the nobility, they were hushed as disturbers of the peace-they were stirring up class hatred. The accusation was not without foundation. They were organizing the unconscious discontent of the people. They were helping the man with an empty stomach to understand that his neighbor with an empty stomach had a common cause with him, that the same conditions oppresed both. It was the infusion of consciousness into the lives of the oppressed. By-and-by those who had been told to eat cake, because they had no bread, began to show the tiger in human nature, when hunger awakes ahead of prudence. The blood of the Reign of Terror is the answer to those who try to stifle discontent by stifling agitation, instead of intelligently attempting to remove the causes of the hatred.

The leaders in the agitation against negro slavery in Amercia were branded as the instigators of hatred between the slave and the slave-holding class. But to-day we believe the intelligence of the Republic regards Beecher and Phillips and Garrison and Lincoln as the organizers of a consciousness on the part of the intelligence of the North, that the best spirit in the slave is the spirit that demands liberty; and that discontent and hatred, and injustice and escape and bloodhound captures and the hiss of the driver's lash would continue, until the system was wiped out. The only way to eradicate hatred between slave and master was to abolish the master-class and the slave-class by making the slave free.

Instances in modern history might be multiplied to prove that "class" hatred" has not originated in the Socialist agitation. It is always born of some sort of injustice which makes it possible for one class to look with contempt upon another. This discontent, mingled often with hatred, when once aroused and conscious of its causes, can never be silenced or cured except by removing the cause for it, except by abolishing the injustice which gave it birth.

The cry that Socialism is the cause of class-hatred is the same cry always raised by established Error when Truth asserts its rights to be heard. Socialism seeks to destroy all class-hatred, by not only destroying the particular injustices from which such hatred arises, but by destroying all classes and maintaining only one class—the class that works. Other animals kill the drones and save the workers. Humanity kills the workers and saves the drones. Socialism would kill no one, but would make it necessary for all the drones to join the ranks of the workers and provide for their own sustenance.

Socialism is the only philosophical denial of hatred and warfare in

human conduct, and the avowal of the principle that in co-operation and mutual aid, by the unification of interests under the control of the common democratic will, and by elimination of all special privilege—the robber-class and the leisure-class and the beggar-class will disappear, and Justice will raise Humanity up to the high plains of Freedom.

THE MILLIONAIRE SUNDAY SCHOOL

BY JAMES RAVENSWOOD

Topic: Giving Up.
Golden Text: Give and Make Others Give.

LEADER—You will notice that our topic this morning is Giving Up, which, we infer from the scripture lesson, means that we must give up something in life. First, let me suggest that we need not worry with the argument of the Nazarene, that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven; the comparison is not well drawn, for all depends upon the size of the needle and the camel. He also mentions that we should give all we have to the poor. but we know that it would be simply folly to consider that literally. If the Nazarene lived to-day and should happen to be president of an oil company, and should attempt to do business on those lines, he would soon go to the wall. (Unanimous assent from the class.)

These injunctions must be taken practically. We naturally desire a few shares of the future life, therefore we know that it is business to give up something that will extend our influence with the Creator of all natural products—the one who made the universe of trusts, each of which He holds in the hollow of His hand. The question is: What will be the easiest service for us? Giving!

Now we come to the underlying thought, The command to give is virtually a command to get, for we cannot give unless we first get something to give. How shall we get it to give? From the people! This will be a two-fold work: When we get it from other people that we may give up, we will be making them give up, too, and they, unconsciously, will be saving their souls.

I should like to have an expression from a number of the class as to how we can arrange to give up something according to these principles. As for myself, I have advanced the price of oil 2 cents on the gallon, and at the end of the year I not only will have made others give up, but will have gotten enough extra profit to enable me to give a few hundred thousands to a university.

COAL OPERATOR—I can easily cut miner's wages and clear enough to endow charities to help the poor buy fuel.

HEAD OF BEEF TRUST—I can fix the price of beef and other meats and raise a sum to establish friendly inns and soup houses for those who cannot get enough work to live.

STEEL TRUST MAGNATE--I can manage to clear the price of a few free libraries where people can read and forget their miseries.

HEAD OF SUGAR TRUST—I can make people give up enough extra for sugar to defray the expenses of a hundred or so missionaries in Cuba and the Philippines.

LEADER—This is what I call a practical Christian spirit. By our works we shall be known! Let us prey!

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M, Chicago.

Matter intended for this space has been omitted, because I wished to discuss the Chicago fire from the viewpoint of a Socialist. I shall give more than usual attention to answering queries in the next issue and meanwhile ask those who are awaiting replies to be patient.

WHO DID SIN? WE, THE PEOPLE

Accounts of the origin of the holocaust in the Iroquois Theatre are conflicting and at this writing none is certain. It is known, however, that no theatre in Chicago—possibly not one in the country—is as safe as it could be made by the expenditure of an adequate amount of money. Under a system where every business man necessarily competes with others in his line, he must be most economical in all purchases and, as this is true all along the line, those who buy materials used in construction of such buildings buy at bedrock prices, for they are thrifty and have an eye to profits; those who supply, pay poor wages and get the cheapest help available, instead of best procurable, for they must also "get rich" by the rule: "My son, get rich, honestly if possible, but get rich anyhow." As long as every man competes with every other, we must expect human life to remain the cheapest of all commodities.

This is no time for individuals to censure others. The public demand will insure the legal discovery of the chief culprits for a strong public demand is always obeyed. Nothing can change the fact that hundreds of lives have been sacrificed to greed and that all citizens—whether voters or merely moulders of public opinion—are in a measure responsible for this altar erected to Mammon and for the disregard of laws designed to protect life.

None can shirk this, for none is innocent when public wrong is done. In a degree, you and I, every man and woman in the United States, is accountable for the desolate hearts and ruined lives due to the disaster of Dec. 30th. All disregarded our civic duty in greater or less degree. We could have so improved public morality that none would have dared glaringly to ignore the law.

Some have more grossly sinned, but we the public were accessory thereto, for we permitted the infringement of law in this case and in thousands of others actuated by greed.

In this special case the building was lauded as fire-proof, not without cause judging by the slight property loss—a furnace may be fireproof and still consume the fuel. But it is certain that even that degree of watchfulness now bestowed upon our government buildings would have prevented the loss of lives. View it from what point we may, we all know that proper precautions to safeguard the public are never taken voluntarily by those connected with any enterprise managed for private gain. Like most horrible sacrifices of life, this can be traced to that 'love of money' long ago

pronounced "the root of all evil." There had been false economy in construction and there was gross carelessness in management.

To have fireproofed scenery, etc. would have decreased the profits on the capital invested, so the risk of a possible fire was taken for the sake of financial gain which was not interested in the resulting deaths, heartaches, and ultimate loss of money to the many people thrown out of employment by such a catastrophe. The public weal was a mere side issue, for all the public is good for is to spend money which will swell dividends.

As money would have been lost by keeping the house closed during the best paying portion of the theatrical season, it was opened before it was really finished, so exits were not marked; and the only excuse yet forthcoming for this is that it would have marred the beauty of the building to have tacked cards over the exits and they had not gotten round to painting them.

Doors leading to the exits were locked, presumably because had others than the one used by ticket takers been unlocked, some one might have crept in without paying admission and such an one could not have been readily discovered as the aisles were filled. Of course entrances could have been watched even if unlocked, but that would have necessitated the employment of an extra force of guards and added to the running expenses.

The economy which saved a few thousands of dollars by purchasing a second rate asbestos curtain and neglecting sprinklers and other precautionary measures required by law, could not be expected to refrain from selling standing room merely because it is illegal, for this also swelled profits and is not our economic system intended to do that? This theatre was built and managed with a desire to reap all possible profits, and the man who successfully does that is the man rated with those held up to the young as models, so what else can we expect? The poor man is a failure and the obverse of the picture is that men are trained to seek wealth though the conscience be stilled the process.

We permitted this, for had the existing laws been forced this loss of life would never have been. In this age there is no excuse for such open defiance of law other than that the public mind condones it, nor is there any acceptable reason for such idiotic lack of common precautions. The carelessness of those who profited in this special case—whether through saving or "graft"—was criminal. What shall we say if civic indifference returns and we learn no lesson from this tragedy?

Those upon whom the blame will legally rest are unfortunate examples, since they are the culprits overtaken in wrongdoing; but evidence has already been produced which shows that the managers of every theatre running in Chicago were openly sinning, that city officials were cognizant of the facts, and that the public has calmly witnessed daily infringement of laws designed to protect human life but ignored by greed. Not one of us but knows of cases where money is set above life and blind justice heeds not until disaster appals.

Does it pay?

Can all the profits of the nation balance the lifelong pain of one bereaved mother? Will any bank account compare with one life cut short? Are we as a people willing to make dividends our deity and offer up our children's lives on that altar?

Greed of money made proprietors and managers lax. Greed of some kind made public officials indifferent. Greed of personal comfort and the esteem of our fellows makes us hesitate publicly to espouse an unpopular cause. Thus greed makes possible the great crimes of this day.

When the nation owns and regulates our playhouses, this particular form of sorrow will cease to be, for we will then operate them as we intend to our schools: for the good of all instead of for financial gain.

W. S. A.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION

So frequently do we hear: why is there need for a separate organization of women Socialists! And often this comes from men whose wives do not belong to any locals of the party and who do not wish their women folk to be actively associated with the political movement.

Perhaps a bit of information as to how the Union came into being, may aid. A newspaper woman may write for papers of all shades of political faith, but if she is fully imbued with the doctrine of equality, it will creep into strange places. As a result, such a writer will receive inquiries from all over the country. One such woman found that her mail was more than she could handle, so she appealed to other Socialist women to share the task of answering. An astonishing number of the comrades so addressed assured her that they felt incompetent to accept such a responsibility, because, while they were in sympathy with the movement and believed that it would win, they were not students and could not give reason for the faith that was in them.

Something had to be done. It was out of the question to refrain from introducing matter into general articles, merely because it provoked inquiry from the uninformed. It was equally impossible to ignore the queries. If we as Socialist women are not ready to assist other women, we are not prepared to train our own children. The need for reaching women created this medium.

Many women in the party feel that their efforts have been wasted and that they are accomplishing less than they could if their work was chiefly among women and children. The efforts made in organizing women will train the women workers and give them an experience which they do not get in the political movement—which does not mean that they should let go any work they are doing in the party organization.

The demand for special work among women is strong, but the Union has been handicapped by lack of funds, so we have done comparatively little of that which we aim to do.

In many ways our tactics differ from those of the party, for we have special needs. Constitutionally most women are best fitted to work along original lines; and this will be true for some years to come. Women must be reached. Their thoughts affect the babes during the prenatal life, making them broad and liberal, or narrow and petty; they influence the children all through school life, so that habits of thought are formed before youths are approached by politicians. We can not afford to disregard women, merely because they can not vote. The sentiment of our country will never materially change until the ideals of women have been raised. It is because of woman's conversatism that things run in ruts. Break this down and a start has been made. It does not make much difference how

you destroy this barrier, if you work honestly. The chief thing is to accomplish the herculean task. In later issues I will tell of some rather unique methods which have been successfully employed in local Unions.

W. S. A.

CHATS WITH YOUNG FOLK OUR EARTH'S AGE

It does not seem many years since the sentence most often on my lips was: "I wonder why!" Of course we grown folk often think the same words, but we do not so frankly say them, and some of the things which once puzzled us do not now seem strange.

Of the things which bothered me longer than any others, the chief were: How old is the earth; where did it come from; of what is it made; and for what was it made. Some of these and other strange things we will talk over together.

When I was very little, the strange story in the Bible was told me and I was taught that God made heaven and earth, then light, then dry land, and at the end of four days he had everything—lights in the sky, plants growing and all food prepared for fish. This seemed to me very odd, for when I looked around I saw that it took years for trees to grow and I could not see why the Great Spirit of Life did things so slowly now if He had ever done them with a rush. No matter whom I questioned about this, I got not one bit of satisfaction, until I found this verse, way over in the back of the strange oid book: "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day."

That seemed better than four days like ours, for four thousand years is a very long time, especially to children. But one day I was talking to a Jewish gentleman and he explained that in reading very ancient history, we must not think of a year as we do now, because in those days people lived where it was summer all the time and harvest was constant, so they did not reckon by seasons like ours. I wanted to know all about that right off, you may be sure, so I asked ever so many questions, and he told me that sometimes those people called the reign of a king a year, and sometimes that word (or the one which meant nearly the same in their language) meant the time that some other officer ruled.

Then I asked him if he believed the days in Genesis—which Peter said were the same as a thousand years—meant the reigns of kings and if he thought it took as long to prepare this earth for animal life as the lifetimes of four thousand kings.

You know the Bible was not written in English, but for the Jews, so I had an idea that he would be apt to know more about what the narrative meant than Americans do. What do you suppose he said?

meant than Americans do. What do you snppose he said?

That "years" did not belong in there at all, but that the word which was originally used was one that meant cycle. Of course I knew that cycle meant wheel and that a cycle of time was any period which brought us back to the same place.

When you take in a breath, hold it an instant, let it out and get just ready to take in another breath, you have finished a breath cycle, or one kind of a cycle of time. Day and night make another length time—cycle: from one new moon to another, a still longer one; and if you try you can think of a great many of them, all d iffering in length. W. S. A.

(To be concluded.)

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BRIEF TALKS ON SUGGESTION

By A. C. HALPHIDE, M. D.,

Author of MIND AND BODY and THE PSYCHIC AND PYSCHISM, 4731 Indiana Ave. Chicago.

4. WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF HYPNOSIS?



into states simulating sleep called hypnoses, these states are moror less profound depending upon the susceptibility of the sub-The various depths of the hypnotic states are known as the stages or degrees of hypnosis. Much has been written about

these stages and many hair-splitting distinctions have been drawn between them but no uniformity has Liebeault's classbeen reached. ification mention six different stages of hypnosis. Bernheim's nine and a few others still more; by way of illustration I will quote Bernheim's classification of the degrees of hypnosis.

BERNHEIM S CLASSIFICATION

A. Memory retained on waking.

1. Suggestion to certain acts only -drowsiness.

2. Inability to open the eyes.

- 3. Suggestive catalepsy-liable to be broken.
 - Irresistible catalepsy.
 - 5. Suggestive contractions.
 - 6. Automatic obedience.
- B. Memory lost on waking, or somnam-
- 7. Without susceptibility to hallucinations.
- 8. Susceptibility to hallucinations describe during sleep.

posthypnotic hallucinations.

classifications, as do above the classifications, recognizes two general divisons, A. Memory retained on waking. B. Mem-

ory lost on waking, or somnambulsim. These two general divisions, including as they do all of the phenomena of hypnosis, are sufficient for the needs of suggestive therapeutics "How lovely and

YPNOTIZED persons fall The "stages or degrees of hypnosis are two, namely, slight and profound which are distinguished by memory or forget ulness of the experiences upon waking. The two-fold classification serves every practical purpose of the more complex ones and permits further subdivision when when desirable. The lighter and deeper hypnoses are more easily and satisfactorily illustrated than explained, so I will describe a couple of hypnotized persons.

A lady one day was hypnotized and lay back in the chair with relaxed body and closed eyes. parently she was peacefully sleeping so reposeful was her attitude. There was one difference, however, namely, she heeded and obeyed verbal commands. She was assured that she could not open her eyes and ordered to try to do so. Slowy and apparently with great difficulty she opened them but they closed again im-mediately. A hand was lightly laid upon her forehead giving a slight downward pressure and again she was told that she could not open them and this time she tried and failed and the failure caused the lady to smile. An arm was then raised and she was assured that it was rigid, cataleptic, and that she could neither bend nor move it: she made a strenuous effort to move it but failed. The arm was made to a circle and the lady was told that she could not stop 9. Susceptibility to hypnotic and it; after an ineffectual effort her smile broke into an amused laugh. and she said, "In't that funny? I can not stop it, sure enough, but my mind is not hypnotized, I know what is going on perfectly." The arm was released and finally, a lead pencil was placed in her hand and she was assured, that it was a rose. She raised it to her face saying. fragrant"-and and so it is my custom to make only then beginning to laugh she added, a two-fold division in my definition. "How silly of me! It is a lead pencil."

The above experiment illustrates amnesia, is the distinguishing charalways be varied by his personal charfor many of the unimportant subdivisons of the stages of hypnosis. After the lady was dehypnotised she remembered perfectly all that occured during the seance and this retention of memory definitely marks the condition as a light state of hypnosis. Eighty percent of our patients will not pass beyond this stage.

A young man was hypnotized and he lay back in the chair like one in a deep sleep, his head fallen to one side and his arms hanging limply. The condition differed from natural sleep in at least one particular, namely, he attended to all the operator said and did and heeded none else. The young man was informed that we were at the theatre and directed to open his eyes and watch the performance and instantly he opened them and apparently enjoyed the music and the show which were wholly hallucinations. After keeping time to the music and watching the show for a little space his eyes closed and he fell into a state of lethargy again. A word aroused him and he was told to pass the cigars and then take and light one himself. At once he arose, took an imaginary box of cigars from the table and presented it before all present and then replacing the box helped himself to one and lighted it with an imaginary match. The imaginary cigar was apparantly greatly enjoyed, he puffed at it, blew rings and praised its quality. So conversed intelligently, when his attention was directed with anyone present. At a suggestion he became as rigid as a stick of wood and was suspended between two chairs with head upon one and feet upon the Anaesthesia and hyperaesthesia were readily induced into in this man.

The experiments with the young man just described involve the chief phenomena observed in profound hypnoses. The profound hypnosis like reappearance of the phantasm the the light varies with the character of next day was equally realistic to him the hypnotee and this gives rise to a and his appearance and actions consub-division of the classification. The veyed the idea that he had seen a young man after he was dehypnotized ghost. had no memory of what occured during the seance and this forgetinlness, events of the deep hypnosis and the

the principal phenomena of slight acteristic of profound hypnosis. Perhypnosis. The hypnotee is an individ- sons who go into profound hypnoses ual person and the hypnosis will are commonly called somnambules, less than twenty percent of hypnotizacteristics and these are responsible ed persons pass into the profound stage.

WHAT IS POSTHYPNOTIC SUGGESTION

A posthypnotic suggestion is one given during hypnosis to be carried out at a specified time or signal after the hypnotee has been dehypnotized. These suggestions belong to the phenomena of protound hypnosis or somnambulism. In them is found the most potent objection to the use of hypnotism urged by the anti-hypnotists. It is affirmed that the hypnotee has no means of protecting himself against posthypnotic suggestions for they act like infernal machines which may be set to explode in unsuspecting ships when they are in mid-There is doubtless some ocean. ground for this objection but the danger has been greatly over stated as will appear presently. The phenomena of posthypnotic suggestion can be more easily illustrated than described so we will return to the young man mentioned above for a moment.

The young man who was one of my students being hypnotized was informed that he was about to witness a spiritualistic demonstration, a materialization of his dead friend. He was told to open his eyes, watch her appear from a point on the floor, converse with her and to remember every detail of the experience after he was The suggestion was dehypnotized. also given him that she would appear to him again the next day in the class-room when he was given a certain signal, namely, I would take off and wipe my glasses with my hand-kerchief. These suggestions were literally fulfilled. After he was dehypnotized he remembered every particular of the experience and was willing to swear "on a stack of Bibles" that he had actually seen a materialized form of his friend.

The retention of memory of the

reappearance of the phantasm the following day when the man was fully awake were the results of post hypnotic suggestions. He was at other times made to do various ridiculous and unusual things, as wear his hat in class on a set occasion and arise from bed, dress himself and go to an out-of-the-way place at midnight more than two weeks subsequent to the giving of the posthypnotic suggestion. The possibility of making an unsuspecting person perform acts in the more or less remote future is startling in the extreme. If the power of posthypnotic suggestion was absolute nothing would remain to be said but it is not, far from it. Two factors enter into the problem which first the hypnotee may refuse to accept the suggestion, he often does, and second, he is not bound to carry them out, he frequently does not. No hypnotist can force his subject beyond the operation of the law of What posthypself-preservation. notic suggestion is has been made plain, the dangers of hypnotism will -ARISTOTLE. be explained later.

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Truth itself will not profit as long as she is but held in the hand and taken upon trust from other minds, not wooed and won and wedded by our own.—GEORGE ELIOT.

Those who make private property of the gift of God pretend in vain to be innocent. For in thus retaining the subsistence of the poor they are the murderers of those who die every day render the real danger almost nil; for want of it.-Pope Gregory the GREAT.

> If any man is able to convince me and show me that I do not think or act aright, I will gladly change; for I seek the truth, by which no man was ever injured. But he is injured who abides in his error and his ignorance.

> Truth is always rejected when it comes to a man for the first time, its evolution being as follows: First, we say the thing is rauk heresy and contrary to the Bible. Second, we say the matter really amounts to nothing one way or the other. Third, we declare we have always believed it .-RENAN.

> Surely if living creatures saw the results of all their evil deeds, they would turn away from them in disgust. But self-hood blinds them, and they cling to their obnoxious desires .-BUDDHA.

Whereas, it has long been known and declared that the poor have no right to the property of the rich: I want it known and declared that the rich have no right to the property of the poor.—John Ruskin.

The gloomy voice of the people could be heard hoarsely growling. It is a startling and sacred voice, composed of the yell of the brute and the word of God, which terrifies the weak and warns the wise, and which at once comes from below like the voice of the lion, and from above like the voice of thunder .- VICTOR HUGO.

. BALLAD OF THE SHOP GIRL.

The wolf of poverty follows me on Through the dingv streets of town; So close beside that his shabby hide Might almost brush my gown; And after him thrust, the wolves of Come eager to drag me down.

And body and soul have a scanty dole From the pittance that I earn; And cold as the breath of the wind of

Are the lessons that I learn: With a pitfall dug for my weary feet And a trap at every turn.

And ever a tempter is near at hand To lure with a Judas kiss. And lead me away if be led I may To the depths of that black abyss, Where in serpent guise old memories rise And over the fallen hiss.

I never may know surcease from woe, But I know of fortune's frown:

I am one of a score of thousands more Who toil in the cruel town:

And the wolves of lust and poverty Are waiting to drag us down.

And the Christ that the Bible teaches

For only men did die;

Or He else would heed in this dreadful need

My bitter, despairing cry;

And the Creeds alway for the heathen pray

And the Christians pass me by.

And many and fast the days whirl past

While early I work and late: And around my path for the aftermath

The basilisk watchers wait: And civillization bids me choose The grave, or a harlot's fate.

And I dread the light of to-morrow's

And the weight of the future years: My life is blurred by a hope deferred And my heart is numb with fears; And my eyes that rise to the sullen skies

Are wet with a woman's tears.

Alone I walk where the specters stalk In the roar of the mighty town: Oh! God, for a knight to aid my flight Of high and pure renown!

Is there never a man to lift me up Where myriads drag me down?

—E. McGaffey.

Magistrate (to witness)-" You say you have known the prisoner all your life "Witness-" Yes. your worship." Magistrate—' Now in your opinion, do you think he could be guilty of stealing this money." Witness—" How much was it?"

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By Daniel Lynch, President of Union No. 11, Boston, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. With this is printed Trade Unions and Socialism, by Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen. This booklet explains the present friendly reations between the organized Socialists and the Trade Unions.

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SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS



To achieve the objects of Socialism, American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.

ATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, ROOMS 303-304, McCague Bldg., Omaha, NATIONAL SECRETARY:

Neb.

Notes of Progress

The National Convention of the Socialist Party of America has been called to meet on May I in Chicago.

The offical call is as follows: To the Socialist Party of the United States Commades: The national committee has by referendum designated Chicago as the place, and May 1, 1904, as the date of holding the national convention of the Socialist Party of America, for the purpose of nom-inating candidates for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States, and for the transaction of such other business as may legitimately come before it.

The basis of representation in the conven-

tion shall be according to the provisions of the constitution of the Socialist Party, as contained in article X of said constitution,

which is as follows:
"The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state being entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every 100 members in good standing."

The membership shall be based upon the average number of dues paying members, as shown by the books of the national secretary for the period of December, 1903, and January and February, 1904.

Alternate delegates upon the same basis of representation shall be elected, and such al-ternates shall be provided with credentials to be presented to the convention in case of inability of delegates to attend.

Only delegates or alternates shall be entitled to vote in the convention, and they must be residents of the states or territories they

are elected to represent.

On March 1, 1904, the national secretary shall call for nominations of delegates and alternate delegates from unorganized states and territories, and in such unorganized states and territories the basis of representation shall be the same as provided in article

X. as noted above.

The national secretary shall provide blank credentials, with duplicates for delegates and alternates elected from such states or terri-tories, the original credentials to be retained by the delegates and alternates and present ed to the convention.

'The national secretary shall announce the

results of election of delegates and alternates in unorganized states and territories, and issue credentials to the same.

The originals and duplicates of credentials of delegates and alternates in organized states and territories shall be signed by the respective officials of the state or territorial organizations.

The hall and hour of assembling of the conrangements have been completed.

VICTOR L. BERGER, Wisconsin.

B. BERLYN, Illinois.

S. M. REYNOLDS, Indiana.

JOHN M. WORK, Nebraska.

The National Secretary writes as follows:

"Let every party member keep in good standing by paying dues promptly and regularly and determine to gain at least one new member every month. By doing this the most effective and surest method will be used to solidify and knit together the revolutionary forces rapidly developing in America into a compact organization prepared to enter the national campaign of 1904 to wage a conflict against capitalism which will result in making the Socialist party the second political party in impor-tance in this country and the leader of the International Socialist movement for working-class emancipation throughout the world."

National organizer, John M. Ray, recently spent a week in Green Bay and did effective work for the cause. Comrade Ray is an original thinker and a fluent speaker. His clearcut, uncompromising talk is especially adapted to the workers and must greatly strengthen the movement wherever he goes.

So many teachers in Holland have become Socialists that they their own organization called "The Socialist Teachers' Union," and held their thirteenth annual convention at the close of last year.

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Londlord—"They're the rabble who

want to live without working."
Peasant—"Then, Mr. Boss, you're a Socialist!"—Sempre Avanti of Rome.

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Siftings

The cry of the industrial world is: Men wanted, the more meek and submissive the better.—MOOSOMIN SPECTATOR.

Under Socialism the full dinner pail will be replaced with a full dinner table where the men who work can eat as civilized people should. - CLEVELAND CITIZEN.

I met a Republican politician the other day who assured me he had been reading up on Socialism, and was convinced we were right. "As soon as you get a little stronger, I'll be with you," said this wily politician. And herein the danger to our cause. It is the men who are waiting until we get a little stronger who always aspire to leadership. Beware of leaders. "The men in the trenches" are all the leaders the Socialist movement needs.—COMING NATION.

The attempt of churchmen to make man contented with his lot here on the promise of Glory is the keenest arraignment of our industrial hell that could be well imagined. It may be in keeping with the spirit of love and mercy to teach that the oppressors of men shall burn in the next world because of their pleasures in this, but the Socialist, bearing no man hatred, declines to be consoled for present injustices by the thoughts of another's future misery.—AM. LABOR UNION JOURNAL.

The Socialists do not shoot with guns; they shoot with their pens and their tongues. They shoot at the rotten principles and practices of the two old parties and in this respect they shoot to kill, and they do kill and are killing these principles rapidly. The sooner they are relegated to the limbo of oblivion the better; they are a curse and a detriment to any country which calls itself enlightened. The Socialists debate: they do not shoot with guns. They are the salt of the nation; they are peace-loving and abide by constitu-tional methods. They are forerunners educators and teachers. They would avert by constitutional and peaceful methods what threatens to result in a violent revolution. They cry aloud their message in halls and on the streets; they appeal to the intelligence of men, and instead of hav-

ing any affiliation with anarchists or their principles, as charged by some ignorant know-nothings, they are in reality the antithesis of all forms of capitalism as well as of political anarchy, and as such Socialism is the only saving and regenerating principle at work in society at the present time.—New Time.

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Monopolist-Beg, nothin'. I don't beg-I APPROPRIATE!

Tid-Bits

Judge—"You do not seem to realize the enormity of the charge against you." Prisoner—"No, your honor. The lawyer ain't sent in his bill yet."

Little Clarence—" Pa, what is executive ability?"

Mr. Calipers— "Executive ability, my son, is the capacity for making some one else paddle your canoe for you,"

Jones—"There goes the most remarkable man in town."

markable, man in town."

Brown—"What's remarkable about him?"

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When in Chicago see me.

dol Bo no 6

THE VANGUARD

FEBRUARY, 1904



= course we shall not tarry at this goal. These vast aggregations of capital will be seized and the properties will pass under the control of the people. Industrial feudalism, when it is finished, will speedily be transformed into industrial democracy.

-Washington Gladden.

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The VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray, Yet newer strength we borrow, And where the vanguard camps today, The rear shall rest tomorrow."

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., FEBRUARY, 1904.

NO. 6

The only choice that is left to you and me and the other citizens of this nation is whether this change from government by monopoly and wealth produced socially by the toiling millions, to the Cooperative Commonwealth, shall take piace peaceably, or shall involve continued waste and loss, with the certainty of violence and bloodshed. Permit me to remind you that the only men today who believe in or are working for the consummation of this end peaceably are the Socialists. If it must come by violence, let us know that the blame will lie at the doors of those who have insisted that it should not come at all; at the doors of those who have attempted to postpone the change, until by starvation and slavery the disinherited masses are driven to desperation. The hope of a peaceful transition at this day when so much political power has been put into the hands of the people, and when so much depends upon the conscious cooperation of the voters in the evolutionary process, lies in earnest, courageous leadership on the part of men who have no good excuse for not knowing the facts of economic history; in the enlightenment of the working class as to their interest, and in fearless proclamation of the gospel of industrial justice.—WM. THURSTON BROWN.

ANNOUNCEMENT

It gives us great pleasure to announce that, commencing with this issue, the Rev. Carl D. Thompson, becomes associate editor of THE VANGUARD. Comrade Thompson is too well known all over the country to need any introduction from us. Continuing his work on the platform, where he is doing valiant service for Socialism, he joins forces with us for the advancement of the cause. We congratulate ourselves and our readers on this accession to the staff and ask the new editor to address a word of greeting to old friends and new.

J. M. A. SPENCE.

VANGUARD READERS, GREETING:
Assuming the pleasant task of comradeship with the editor of this magazine, I take pleasure in addressing a word to its readers. To many of you I am already personally known. I do not need to tell you of the purposes, plans and hopes of my llfe. All I need to say is that thru the columns of this paper our comradship shall be ce-

mented and made permanent. We shall speak to each other each month.

To some of the readers I am unknown. I simply greet you now. We will know each other better as we proceed,-an anticipation of great pleasure upon my part at least. To all we would say, this joining of forces is the result of the desire upon the part of Comrade Spence and myself to increase our usefulness to the cause of Socialism. It happens that we have both been borne into the Socialist movement upon the tides of a deep spiritual passion for humanity. We have never lost, and doubless never will lose, the consciousness of the presence of great spiritual, moral and ethical problems involved in the present struggle. We nevertheless devote ourselves without reserve and without hesitancy, in full, frank fellowship to the organized forces of the Socialist movement both upon the propaganda and political field, and shall seek to assist and serve the Socialist Party of America.

Digitize CARL D. THOMPSON.

We direct special attention to the claim to speak with authority upon Organizing Fund of the Socialist Party on page 23. We have entered upon a great campaign for industrial democracy this year and the movement must not suffer from lack of funds which can be supplied if each Socialist will give according to his or her ability. Let every reader of THE VANGUARD send some amount great or small, without delay to the National Secretary.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

In the recent number of the International Socialist Review appears a translation of an article by Emile Vandervelde on Marxian Idealism that contains a very sane utterance upon the question of the relation of Socialism to religious thought. Speaking of the declaration of the Erfurt Program that religion is a private matter, he says:

"It may be understood, and many have understood it as limiting Socialism to political and economic questions alone. . . Those who speak in this manner do not appreciate the profound reaction exercised upon social physics by religious metaphysics. Religions are both cosmologies and sociologies. . . It must not be forgotten that we can only destroy when we replace. It the overthrow of the old faith is to be complete, Socialism must raise itself above the ground of immediate concerns It is necessary that to that conception of the Church which embraces the entire man, Socialism oppose a no less integral conception of law, morals, society and the world."

This is certainly a very sane and timely word upon a subject that has been troubling some of the American Socialists. A few in the movement have contended that all religious and ethical discussion should be elimina-

call for contributions to the National sociological questions. They teach an ethics of their own. If this be doubted let the reader turn to another column and read the words of the editor of the Christian Advocate the leading publication of the Methodist Church. In substance, the poor are to serve the rich, according to this gentleman's interpretation of religious ethics. When the official representatives of religion take that position, then the conflict of Socialism is inevitable, and to that extent Socialism enters the arena as a religious proposition.

> Moreover, Socialism must something more to offer the people than a mere economic and political program if it is to win its way in the minds of the people. Man is more than an economic animal. He has moral and personal needs, and aesthetic desires here and now, before we get Socialism. And he knows that something can be done in these lines. If Socialism refuses to interest itself in any way in these matters it thereby proves its insufficiency, and multitudes of the people will look elsewhere for the satisfaction of these needs. And this is why Comrade Vandervelde insists that Socialism must be something more than economics. He points out the fact that "moral questions hitherto neglected, now appear upon the programs of all Socialist congresses; for example in Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, thanks to the works of Marxists, such as Otto Lange or Victor Adler, the Socialist Anti-acoholic propaganda is beginning to pass beyond the stage of wordy resolutions."

It is for something of this breadth of purpose and spirit that some of us have been contending in the American Socialist movement. We have ted because of the inevitable prejudice not gone so far as Comrade Vanderit raises. But the religious orders velde has gone, and asked that Social-

ism take up these moral, ethical and that the American people have simreligious questions but we ask that ply to understand the spirit and those in the movement who feel the method of Socialism to recognize importance of them be allowed, and therein the safe, wise and practicable if possible, encouraged in their work settlement of this vexed question. along these lines. The world needs a new interpretation of religion, of remedy, by any means. ethical and moral problems. There he calls "the only solution of these are Socialists in the American movement who are able to contribute to he declares, "must regard the poor this need. The Socialists of Ameri- man as his brother, and the latter must can should encourage this effort.

A FALSE PROPHET

The Rev, James M. Buckley, D. D., editor of the New York Christian Advocate and perhaps the most inthe Methodist fluential leader in Church, recently made some startling predictions concerning the struggle between organized capital and organized labor. Speaking in the First Congregational church of Montclair, N. J., he said:

"It does not require a prophet or a son of a prophet to tell us that within three years yes, two years—this country will pass through a terrible crisis if there is not an immediate change in the relations of labor and capital. It seems as if both have thrown Christian conduct and common sense to the winds.

"Things have been going from bad to worse, and labor unions have now assumed so arrogant an attitude that a crash is almost inevitable. You have only to read the history of Rome, changing names and dates, to see what this country is coming to.

"I repeat, a great crash is coming, and many rich women who have horses and carriages, and are apparently leaders of fashion, will be brought to want. History repeats itself, and we cannot sow the wind and hope to escape from reaping the whirlwind.

"The crisis is very near, and the suffering will be terrible,"

We admire Dr. Buckley's frankness in stating the gravity of the situation but we cannot share in his pessimism for the reason that we see a just and happy solution of the problem ahead. namely, Socialism. The Socialist is no "calamity howler," no prophet of evil; he is essentially an optimist and the herald of a better day; his message is one of peace on earth and short on prophets if Dr. Buckley is a good-will among men. And we believe fair representative.

But Socialism is not Dr. Buckley's Here is what great labor problems:" "The rich," T. serve the rich with faithfulness, diligence and sincerity."

We are not in the least surprised that the future should appear very dark to one who speaks from such a point of view. There is no prospect of a settlement of the social problem in the manner indicated, nor would such a settlement be desirable, for the reason that it would not be right. The only righteous solution must come through the extension of democracy rather than the concessions of plutocracy, along lines of justice rather than servitude.

It is painfully evident that Dr. Buckley is after all the defender of capitalistic interests and that chief concern is for the preservation of vested rights. His attack on the trades union movement and his solicitude for "leaders of fashion," reveal his own "class-consciousness" and his sympathy with the rich and powerful. All of which is but another example of the failure of official Christianity to understand the message of Jesus and its relation to the economic developments of our day. If there is one thing for which the Nazarene Carpenter does NOT stand it is this very arrogance and assumption of superiority which this doctor of divinity (?) displays when he speaks of "rich and poor" and declares that "the latter must serve the former."

The Methodist Episcopal church is

Tolstoy to the Clergy

30 30

Not only is the Church teaching harmful by its irrationality and immorality, it is specially harmful because people professing this teaching, while living without any moral demands to restrain them, feel quite convinced that they are living a really Christian life.

People live in insensate luxury, obtaining their wealth by the labour of the humble poor, and defending themselves and their riches by policemen, law courts and executions—and the clergy in the name of Christ, approve, sanctify, and bless this way of life, merely advising the rich to allot a small part of what they have stolen to the service of those from whom they continue to steal. (When slavery existed, the clergy always and everywhere justified it, and did not consider it inconsistent with Christianity.)

People strive by force of arms, by murder, to attain their covetous aims, personal or public, and the clergy approve, and in Christ's name bless preparations for war and for war itself, and not only approve, but often encourage these things; holding war—that is, murder—not to be contrary to Christianity.

People who believe in such teaching are not merely led by it into an evil way of life, but are fully persuaded that their evil life is a good one which their is no need for them to alter.

Nor is that all: the chief evil of this teaching is that it is so skillfully interwoven with the external forms of Christianity, that, while professing it, people think your doctrine is the one true Christianity, and that there is no other! It is not only that you have diverted from men the spring of living water—were that all, people might still find it—but you have poisoned it with your teaching, so that people cannot find any Christianity but this one poisoned by your interpretations.

The Christianity preached by you, is an inoculation of false Christianity, resembling the inoculation for smallpox or diptheria, and has the effect of making those who are inoculated immune to true Christianity.

People having for many generations built their lives on foundations irreconcilable with true Christianity, feel fully persuaded that they are living Christian lives, and thus they are unable to return to true Christianity.

THE ART OF BROTHERHOOD

By GEORGE HOWARD GIBSON



OLSTOY defines art to be "a means of union among men."

I feel led to reverse the order and to way, Union among men is the means and the beginning of art. Brotherhood is the practice of the ideal along all lines of human activity. The spirit of universal brotherhood must exercise and real ize itself in universal art, art of every sort, developing the individuals given up to it into that perfection of their distinct and varying personalities and powers of service which shall fulfill the ideals of God in their creation.

The carrying forward of the whole unfinshed creation, animal and vegetable, animate and inanimate, and the pro-

gress of the race, is made dependent on this spirit in man. We are or ought to be workers together with God, to make the world about us the perfection of beauty and the abode of health and harmony. Power without limit connects itself with those who will love and serve.

We have as yet only barely begun to make use of love, of brotherhood, the power of union to serve and to lift up, to create beauty and joy. The selfish struggle of business spreads poverty, slavery, drudgery, deformity, disease and degradation. The wealth it gathers is sordid and destitute of fellowship. The art it buys is loveless, exclusive, selfish. All such art is based upon slavery. Slavery of either the chattel or profit-robbing sort creates vastly more ugliness than beauty, more pain than pleasure, more loss than gain. And in all the forms of beauty it creates there is dissatisfaction, because love does not live in it and communicate itself through it. Beauty at cost of deformity is a price we must shrink from. Art that kills nature, or that destroys manhood, is a thing to shudder at and abhor.

All living art expresses love, love that is unselfish and universal. All who work for love, or whose work is love, are artists, it matters not what they do. Love cheapens not its service. The best service, the most ideal, is its desire. So art is the life of love.

Conceive what beauty is to be brought out of brotherhood. It will put an end to the ugliness that selfishness has made and multiplied. It will restore "the Man with the Hoe," and all his kind to grace and dignity and God-like power. It will equalize burdens and give to those who work the joy that should accompany creation. It will make us loving, supplementary parts of one another, members of one body, so that each shall share in the work of all and rejoice in every achievement.

In the brotherhood life there will be no stopping of the mines and mills because the plundered wage earners are powerless to buy back out of the markets as much as their toil creates, out instead the music of the loving looms and hammers shall be ceaseless, and the unwearying energies of God shall be keptemployed to make wealth for all. In the brotherhood life all work shall be worship, fellowship, and ever-growing, developing art. By the multiplication of loving hearts and hands, every secret of the earth shall be searched out and all its powers shall be harnessed to serve and bless. Toil shall be reduced to the measure of healthful activity. Leisure for study shall be secured for all. Instruction in every science and

form of useful labor shall be free. Each family shall have a home of beauty and convenience, sanitarily perfect, and set in the midst of a garden. Books and pictures and tasteful furniture shall be found in each and all. Music shall add its charms. The whole of life shall be made serviceable, joy-creating, beautiful, and the earth shall be filled with heaven.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF SOCIALISM

By C. E. ORDWAY



N a certain almost literal sense all is grist that comes to the Socialist mill. A year ago the coal strike set thousands to thinking about government ownership of the mines and railroads and led many of them to vote the party ticket.

At the present time the astounding revelations of graft, blackmail, dishonor and all sorts of political corruption and moral rottenness which serve to bring the existing order and the dominant powers into disrepute with the people are all serving as meat for the Socialist table.

In the irrepressible struggle between real democracy and reaction, between this sordid spirit of imperialism and pluto-

cracy and that of moral integrity and economic justice, between the conservatism that is satisfied with all existing privileges and the intelligent, keen spirit of social reconstruction, in this struggle between these forces, now well on, Socialism finds its great opporunity.

In the polluted atmosphere and the contaminated conditions of the present, Socialism, to those who understand it, rises as a perfume of purity and the promise of better things. The day is here when the proclamation "all the world for all the people" begins to win the approval of humanity and appear as the open way of progress, and the path of escape from the corruption, oppression and insufferable arrogance, injustice and opportunism of the competitive capitalistic order. With Victor Hugo it is time for Socialism to declare "the hour has struck for hoisting the 'All for all'," and to grasp the present opportunity and take the field afresh under this banner which in the end is bound to lead to victory.

With the leaders of capitalism at war among themselves, the public press spreading the piratical career of Rockefeller and Standard Oil, the degradation and corruption of our great cities, the prosititution of public office to private aggrandizement in our national government, and discussing the question of whether the republic is to endure, and all the world shocked at the mad scramble of the adminstration for commercial supremacy, even to the extent of international robbery, there is an opportunity for Socialism unparalleled in its history.

Starved and frozen together they lie,
Mother and babe in their icy sleep;
But, stronger in death than life, they cry
And stir men's souls with a passion deep.
Aye, these poor victims of Hunger and Cold,
Are yet strong in the fight 'gainst Greed and Gold!

—John Spargo.



How Socialists

View the

Class Struggle

By CARL D. THOMPSON

The Socialists do not make the class struggle. They seek to bring it as quickly as possible to a final, just and peaceful issue. But not to recognize it, not to reckon with it, not to understand it as one of the mightiest forces of society, would be to betray the most unpardonable ignorance. And moreover, not to recognize the class struggle, is to be unable to comprehend certain phenomena in the labor movement of today. Until one sees that there is a class struggle

—the oppressor class fighting to maintain its principles and the laboring class to maintain its rights—one could not understand the universal distrust of all capitalistic parties on the part of the Socialists,—could not understand the quite general suspicion of the middle class and uncompromising attitude against all fusion tactics.

There are roughly speaking four types of laboring people:—first, there is the helpless, ignorant working class who know nothing of their own rights, nothing of the wrongs they suffer who are "stunned and toiled as the ox," whose capacity to think, to protest, to resist, is gone and who know nothing but to toil on in the dark of an endless slavery.

Above this, is the organized union labor class. These have still their power to conceive of just conditions and power to resist oppression. They perceive vaguely, the existence of a class struggle. They fight on the economic field with the strike and the boycott as their weapons. The struggle is fierce and cruel enough at times, but they perceive that they are usually beaten. Their enemy, the capitalist class, have every advantage of them. They are rich and besides they control the courts, the legislatures, militia. Therefore they hesitate: they are uncertain; they have no policy.

The third class of laborers belong also to the second. They are members of labor unions. Some of them are ignorant, some conceited. Some are fully aware of the issues at stake. They secure leadership. This gives them influence. This influence is sought eagerly by the politicians,—it becomes a great source of satisfaction and sometimes of office, and sometimes of revenue. But in any such case it always arises from their connection with the capitalist class politicians. They are the men in the laboring class who taking advantage of the indecision and lack of definite program of their unious, deal with the enemy, they deliver the unions scourged and bound, into the power of their adversary.

The fourth class of laborers are the Socialists. They see and distinctly

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recognize the class struggle. They are also, whenever possible, members of unions. They assist everywhere in the struggle their comrades make upon the economic field in the strike and boycott. But they see the absolute necessity of a program that is complete and scientific. They attack the enemy at the strategic point. It is the ownership of the resources of nature and the tools, machinery and utilities of production that gives them their crushing power. The Socialists, therefore, aim to strip them of that power through collective ownership. But more important still the Socialists see that the strike and boycott are very costly and crude weapons to use. The capitalist class has so fortified itself behind the courts, legislatures, militia that every strike henceforth can be but a partial victory at best and frequently becomes a crushing defeat. The only weapons left to the laboring class for its future struggles is the weapon of political power. But this is supreme. In the strike the capitalist has ten thousand times the advantage; at the ballot box labor has a similar advantage for the vote of the poorest toiler counts just as much as the vote of a Rockefeller or a Morgan. Upon the politicial field the victory of labor is absolutely certain if they can be made to vote together for themselves instead of voting against each other for the capitalist parties.

Labor must have a program. It is Socialism. Labor must unite on its' own side in the class struggle. That is the Socialist Party. Whoever seeks to prevent this ailgnment tries to prolong labor's helpless struggle, leads it to certain defeat and delays the progress of humanity.

STAND UP AND BE COUNTED

By ERNEST UNTERMAN

"Yes, I am a Socialist, but it wouldn't do for me to come out openly."

-"I am in favor of Socialism, but it would hurt my business, if I said so. '
"No I can't join your local; it would cost me my job; but I vote the Socialist ticket all right."

These are the words which we now hear very frequently. They show that the world is not only full of unconscious Socialists, but also of conscious Socialists, who never take any active part at all in moulding the public mind. They go to the polls and register their protest against the capitalist system. But they do nothing whatever to assist the party that alone enables them to vote their protest.

It is a sad fact that many are dependent for their existence on the patronage of the slow-witted and prejudiced. And it is also true that many are so situated that they cannot dare to come out openly for Socialism, not so much for their own sake, as for the sake of those who are dependent upon them. But it is also true, that hundreds of thousands who make the above excuses can well afford to be avowed Socialists, and shrink from openly affiliating with the Party from mere faintheartedness.

There are many who are young and strong, who can well risk losing money for the sake of standing up for a great principle. There are many who would find, if they had the courage, that they were afraid of a bogey. Granted that to be a Socialist means to be ostracized, granted that it means loss of business, granted that it means hardships and sacrifice. But unless aged or disabled or diseased persons depend on a man, unless a man

himself to physically broken down and unable to share in the struggles of the manful, there is no excuse for shrinking from the ordeal.

Oh ye of little faith in the power of self-assertion! Who is your neighbor that he should have such influence over your soul? You are in favor of Socialism. Well then, you see the truth. You know that the world can only become better by the spread of this truth. And yet you lift not one finger to help in the victory of light over darkness. You say you vote the ticket? Yes, but how would you get a chance to vote your ticket, if all behaved like you? There would be no Socialist party then.

It hurts your buisness to come out for Socialism? All right. But does it not hurt your manhood to bow to prejudice in spite of your better conviction? You lose money, if you join the local of the party? Very well. But does it not cost you your individuality to prevent your best convictions from finding expression in vigorous action? It hurts your standing in the community to work for Socialism? Let it be so. But does it not hurt your soul to live a lie?

Inwardly you hate capitalism, yet you let others do the work of awaking enough minds to abolish it. You feel that you are a Socialist, and that is a noble mind to be one, and yet you are ashamed to show your colors to a world that is bending under the burden of ignorance. You conceal your better knowledge. Verily, whosoever is not working for the victory of truth is against it!

Be a man and stand up for your principles! No faint heart ever commanded respect. You will never be free, unless you first are brave. If you bow meekly to the tyranny of those who are enslaved by the thoughts of the past, you are a slave of the past yourself. How then do you expect to liberate yourself and others? While others are bearing the brunt of the fight, waiting for re-inforcements, you are sneaking around with a Socialist paper in your pocket. Pull it out and read it boldly before all the world! Shake off that yoke of dead men! Stand up and let them see your colors! And compel them by your self-assertion to respect your manhood and your principles.

REVOLUTION

Truth is shining, earth's awaking; Freedom rising, chains are breaking; Tyrants on their thrones are quaking, For their reign is nearly done. Knowledge coming, error leaving; Pen and press their past retrieving, Swiftly fly their shuttles, weaving All the nations into one. Priests and creeds are retroceding, Men the guide within are heeding; Every one his garden weeding; Headlong, bigotry is hurle Love unspringing, hate is dying. Men rejoicing, knaves are sighing: Deadly curses fast are flying From a renovated world.—WILLIAM DENTON.

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WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M. Chicago.

COMRADES, ATTENTION!

Local Unions and members-at-large are urged to give attention to the election of National officers. Last year many ignored the matter and the vote was light. Few remembered that our constitution provides that "votes shall be mailed to the National Cor. Secy "the envelopes being marked Election Returns" and containing no other matter." Please note this.

Miss Josephine Cole declined nomination for National office, as her hands are full with work as Pres. of the Calif. Union. Mrs. Garbutt also prefers to work in her present place as Supt. of Dept. of Parliamentary Law and Pres. of the local Unionat Los Angeles. Below is a list of nominees for office. Please vote your full strength.

Pres.-Wenonah Stevens Abbott, Chicago, Ill.

Vice Pres.—(nominated by presidential nominee)—Belle Kearney, Flora, Miss.

Cor. Sec'y.—Marion H. Dunham. Burlington, Iowa; Josephine Conger, Girard, Kansas.

Rec. Sec'y-Annie W. Clark, Columbus, Ohio; Lydia N. Cummings, Fairhope, Ala:, Mary Pierce Roe, Omaha, Neb.

Treas -Ellen M. Mason, Providence, R. I., N. Sakaloff, Sioux City, Ia.

LET'S TALK IT OVER

J. G. asks for an illustration which can make her understand class consciousness. There was once a woman who was obliged to carry her babe to a day nursery, while she worked elsewhere. One evening a patroness of the institution waylaid her and said: "It seems too bad that your beauty should fade so soon, and I wish to give you a little advice." The advice. among other things, included plenty of nourishing food, a cold tubbing every morning, a hot bath in the evening, one hundred strokes of the hair morning and night, a long walk each day, recreation, etc. When the young mother said she had not time, she was informed that she ought to get up an hour earlier in the morning and stand up later at night, rather than omit "physical culture." Now it happened that this working-woman was having all she could do to make both ends meet, so could not possibly procure more nourishing food, was sleeping less than five hours a night, had spinal disease and found it painful to give her hair even the attention which would make it tidy, and walked upwards of ten miles each day to save carfare. The patroness was an honest woman, who desired to help her poorer sister; but she had never been in a similar position so could not put herself in the other's place. Right there is the basic fact of classconsciousness. It is due to the fact that none of us can decide for those with whom we cannot feel. Workers have certain needs and conditions in

common; so they can understand the requirements of those who are similarly placed. They are conscious of the condition of their kind. People of wealth have a similar consciousness as to their kind. Neither of these classes can feel with the other class (however they may feel for it) unless they have dwelt in it at some period of their lives, so class-consciousness is a fact in human nature, not an artificial condition at all.

I. A. wishes a list of 25 books for a small circulating library. Of those given below I would loan the first seven to those not yet awake to the need of an economic change; the next ten to beginners in the study of Socialism; the remainder to the more advanced. I wish these books could be owned by every club of Socialist women, whether they are affiliated with the W. N. S. U. or not. Women will also be pleased with a booklet of Socialist Songs and Dialogues for young chidren, written by Mrs. Hunt and Miss Cole and for sale by the Woman's Socialist Union of San Jose, Calif. It is excellent but I have mislaid my copy and cannot call special attention to it at this time. I believe the price is 5 cents.

"Looking Backward" and "Equality" by Bellamy; "Merrie England" by Blatchford; "Henry Ashton" by Dague; "Workers Of The West" by Wick-off, "The Strike Of A Sex" by Miller: and "Packington" by Simons.

"Pride Of Intellect" by Wentworth; "Intemperance and Poverty" by Twining; "Britian For The British" by Blatchford; "Principles And Program Of Socialism" by Thompson; "Women" by Bebel; "Civilization Civilized" by Maybell; "Socialism" by McClure; "Socialism And The Home" by Kerr; "Subjection Of Woman" by Mill; "Scientific Socialism" by Bersford.

"Capital" by Marx; "Socialism From Utopia To Science" by Engels; "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels; "Socialism And The American Farmer" by Simons; "Facts And Logic" by Bersford; "Six Centuries Of Work And Wages" by Rogers.

S. E. asks whether a woman's duty is to humanity or her family.

This makes me think of a South Side lady of whom I heard a few days since. She desired to entertain her literary club. At lunch, among other things, she served cranberry jelly. That evening her husband ate in the kitchen, because the dining room had not been made tidy after guests departed. Suddenly he asked what kind of sauce he was eating and was informed that his economical wife had added sweetened water to the skins strained from the berries and made his sauce from this refuse. If a woman can not supply outsiders with jelly without giving her family scraps, I certainly think she should not entertain; but most of us can do for friends and relatives, if we are natural and unaffected with all. It is trying to do more than one is able which makes public duty conflict with private duty.

J. C. asks whether it has not been denied that Frances Willard once wrote: "Poverty causes more drink than drink causes poverty."

If this is denied, it is by those who are mistaken. I am acquainted with the recipient of the letter, which was read many times while he was a Populist lecturer.

M. G. B. wishes to know whether I would consider banking as safe with the nation really behind banks as it now is. I'm inclined to believe this query a hoax, but answer it nevertheless. In those rare intervals when I have money to deposit, I always take out a money order payable to myself, because I've had unfortunate experiences with bank failures and do not fear that the U. S. government will keep its obligations. In an early issue, I'll try to include an article on financial matters which seem so puzzling to the average womah.

A COMRADE writes that she "carefully read the Woman's Issue but saw no announcement of a Woman's Dept. This leads me to suggest that the advertising pages frequently contain good reading matter. Let's not skip them. They are printed for us.

A. B. See articles on W. N. S. U. in former issues.

E E. B. wishes to know whether a universal suffrage law would not be an improvement upon each state regulating this. I think it depends upon what would be adopted. If one of the more liberal laws, I'd say yes. But, unfortunately this would not be the one to receive a majority vote. We might get such a one as in Alabama, for instance. There no man can vote unless he has paid a two-dollar poll tax, resided in the state two years and in the county one. The working of this is to disfranchise a large number of the working class, especially as contractors have a method of "swapping" gangs of men before election, thereby taking them across county lines.

FRIENDS: Many of you have sent me most kindly advice as to necessity for more rest. From my heart I thank you. One comrade likens the work of any one woman to a drop in the ocean, which would not be missed if taken away. In a sense this is true, but it is also true that, while our finite senses would not miss the drop of water from the ocean, if it could be destroyed it would affect the gravity of the earth. We all have our place in the Great Plan and all of us need to fill it, without egotism or its opposite. After all, it is the amount of work that we accomplish and not the length of time we stay in the body which makes a long life, so let's not rest while the work needs us, unless by so doing we can benefit those depending upon us.

CHATS WITH YOUNG FOLK. II. OUR EARTH'S AGE.

(Continued.)

After I puzzled over this for a while, I asked which of them he thought the Bible meant, and then he told me a strange fact. I had known that this earth turns round and round like a top, and that it made a journey around the sur at the same time; but I had never heard that instead of standing up straight in its travels, it wobbles just like a top does. Did you know that? It is really so, for all the wise men know about it. Of course when you spin a top, it does not take long for its leaning axis to make a circle, but it takes our earth twenty-one thousand years. The Jewish gentleman said his folk taught him that it took at least four thousand of these long time cycles to prepare the earth to be the home of movings beings—that would make eighty-four million of the years.

After that I puzzled more than ever, for I did not understand why the wise book-makers used the word "years" if it was wrong; but none helped

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me much until I was twelve years old. Then I began to find out for myself, for I started to study Latin and got as mixed up as most people do in learning a new language. Just think of finding that "vir" means either man, hero, or husband, and is just as correct for one of them as for the other two, that "volucer" means flying, winged swift, or bird, and that most of the words mean any one of several in our tongue! It was bad enough the first year, when we studied a Litin first reader; but the next year we were transliting a history which was written two thousand years ago. You should have heard the way we turned it into English! Sometimes one scholar would say a paragraph meant one thing and a second made it say something that contradicted the first, while both could prove they were right by a Litin dictionary. Of course we had no way of really knowing which wording the author intended, so we had to believe what our teacher said.

When I thus learned that the Jewish gentleman might be right and that even the Bible did not really say that this world was made in such a hurry as some people think, I was less surprised to find that we people feel very sure that this great work took millions of years. Later I'll tell you some of the things which make them so positive. W. S. A.

If any one word symbolizes Socialism, that word is Co-operation. I believe in co-operation even with people I do not like if it will bring us any nearer the Ideal. We live in great times—the air is all athrob with thought and feeling. Great changes are now being brought about, and never was there a time when men of steady judgment were more in demand. We want hopeful earnest men, and above all, men of patience, kindness and good-cheer. We want the opportunity—the man who does what he can, the best he can, and who to-morrow will do the same. We want MEN.—Elbert Hubbard.

THE WEAK TO THE WALL!

The weak to the Wall, The weak to the Wall! Have devils unfeeling invented that call? Have lives of he!l's demons developed that plan? Nay, nay! that's the watchword, in business, of MAN.

The weak to the Wall, The weak to the Wall! How far from the Godlike a mortal can fall! What trace of resemblance in such can you find, Who push "to the Wall" all the weak of their kind!

"To hell with the hindmost," plain stated, shall stand Interpreting acts of a "Civilized" land. No place for the weak—though his God made him so! No place but the Wall—as we term Hell below.

Almighty Provider, push all of us, then,
To th' cruelest "Wall;" for the strength of these men
Pushing brothers some weaker to hell in their day,
In thy sight must be strength as of Potter's wet clay.

—EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

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BRIEF TALKS ON SUGGESTION 5. HOW SHALL WE STUDY PYSCHISM AND OCCULTISM?

By A. C. HALPHIDE, M. D.,

Author of "Mind and Body," "The Psychic and Psychism," Etc., 4731 Indiana Avenue, Chicago.

teacher about in the latter's rounds of business and pleasure, listening to his every word, and observing his In undertaking any subject, first, every expression and gesture, until study the general subject, and, later, the pupil was able to take up his pass to the particular one. For inchosen profession.

since the day that little groups comered about from place to place in pursuing their studies. Today permanent institutions are found in every city where one may learn almost any may choose. subject that he chooses. He who has the time and means will do well to attend such an institution and learn under a competent instructor. who has not this time or means, however, need not necessarily despair, for there are many mail courses and text books to be had by the aid of which he may accomplish much at home.

Mail courses, however, are not recommended because they are more expensive than the ordinary text book, and they are no more satisfactory. They are only printed matter and cannot make the subject plainer nor more explicit than a well written text book. Text books are written by competent teachers, any one with ordinary intelligence plus a little concentration and perseverance, may gain all the knowledge from such books that he would from any mail course.

By text books I do not mean voluminous treatises, exhaustive and exhausting, but rather concise outline basis, and prepare you to consult lib- who exhibit a sufficient amount of

In ancient times it was customary raries and read magazine articles. for any one who wished to learn a First, thoroughly know your own book, profession, or to study a science, to and do not be afraid to make notes become the pupil, or disciple, of some in it as you read and compare it with one competent to teach the parti-other works. Master one work at a cular subject. He would follow his time, for one workthoroughly mastered is worth more to you than a whole library listlessly read.

stance, if you wish to study some part-Times have changed, however, icular division in psychical research, or psychism, first read a work dealing posed of teacher and disciples, wand- with the general subject, and, after familiarizing yourself with that you will be prepared to select and master any branch of the subject that you

Although it is not always possible to find a text book giving a general outline discussion, it is nevertheless necessary to study the subject in that way. Fortunately such works are not lacking on psychism. If they were the lack might be supplied by referring to the dictionary, encyclopedia and magazine articles.

In a satisfactory study of psychism, definitions of the more common terms included in the subject should be studied, for they are the letters with which you will have to spell out the science, for, unless you are familar with the terms, no amount of reading can make the matter clear. after "psychic," "psychism" and other terms have been defined, and their synonyms and autonyms bave been obsrved and compared: the persons possessing psychic powers should be studied. How did they obtain the powers? Are they natural, or acquired? May others attain the same powers? If so, how?

These and many other similar quesworks, giving the elements of the tions will arise, and a satisfactory subject in a simple, systematic man-answer to them must be sought until ner. A large number of books are found. When these have been solv-not necessary. One good work on ed, you will have learned that there each subject will form a working are a considerable number of persons

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pyschic power to characterize them as psychics. It will be necessary, therefore, to discover and classify the different kinds of psychics, and to determine the phenomena peculiar to each.

Psychism, you will learn, divides itself easily into a number of subheads, or branches, such as spiritism, telepathy, suggestion, clairvoyance, and the like. It goes without saying that you should have a pretty thorough course in elementary psychology before you undertake to unravel the

mysteries of psychism.

After you have discovered the several branches of psychical research and have noted relationship, you will be able to intelligently attempt the mastery of anv one of them. It is that it is easier to discover and understand a thing whose location and relationship is known, than one whose position is undetermined.

Having reviewed the general subject in this outline fashion and become familiar with its sub-divisions, you will be ready to elect one for more thorough investigation. Suppose, for example, Suggestion is selected, and a mastery of that subject is de-What is the best method of

procedure?

Text books upon Suggestion are numerous, but care should be exercises in the selection of one. giving a simple, straightforward statement of the elements of the subject are best, as I have before stated. The order here should be like that of nature; first the simple, and later the complex. The elementary work will prepare the way for one more comprehensive.

Such a text on the subject of Suggestion will give, first, a brief plain history of the subject, showing how it grew out of magnetism, mesmerism and hypnotism, and when the history of the subject is well understood, the methods of hypnotizing and de-hypnotizing should be carefully studied. These are simple and easy when thoroughly understood, but most mysterious and difficult until they are comprehended. Then, naturally, follows a study of the states and phenomena of hypnosis. They are many and ·wonderful. Certainly no branch of psychism surpasses them in importance.

It will be necessary to carefully study the laws of mind underlying ern Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

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and rendering hypnosis, for upon little courage plus a little confidence them depends the usefulness of sug-gestion, as applied in therapeutics What is true of suggestive hypnogestion, as applied in therapeutics and education. When these laws are understood, the manner of applying suggestion in the treatment of diseases will need much thoughtful consideration. Not every one who can vering effort, and that, at home, hypnotize is competent to give prosper suggestive treatment. More hypnotize is competent to give proper suggestive treatment. More per suggestive treatment. More harm than good may be done by a bungling operator, and not a little time and thought should be expended upon this part of the subject.

given to an investigation and understanding of the limitations and danit has its dangers, ought not to be surprising to any. The right text book short-cut route to knowledge. will be fair, frank and fearless in its

acquired.

and be able to apply them. It takes less we approach them with our minds a little courage to make the first at- free from prejudice, and open to tempt to hypnotize, but with that conviction.

What I have said of psychism and suggestion supplies likewise to occulism and any of its sub-divisions.

The specific text book is of little importance in comparison to your Finally, care and study should be own method of study. If you are ambitious and persevering, systematic and thorough, you will succeed. Masgers appertaining to the subject of ter one step at a time and you need suggestion. That it is not a panacea not retrace your steps to begin over or cureall, will soon be discovered to again. Only lack of systematic and the disappointment of some, and that thorough work brings dicouragement and failure. Remember, there is no

Fortugately, the tendency of the statements, and an adequate know- age is diverging from the old-time ledge of the subject can therefrom be narrowness and bigotry toward universal broadness and liberality. Directions for hypnotizing may be should strive to get into sympathy so plainly stated that any one with with the tendency. Neither books ordinary intelligence may understand nor magazines will avail us much un-

A PREACHER'S BOOK REVIEWED



Macmillan

a rich and influential church.

HE Quest of Happiness," the church, the pastor's only prop-by the Rev. Newell er sphere, he is a writer of dignity Dwight Hillis, paster and grace. When he deals solely of Plymouth church, with personal ethics, with the cul-Brooklyn. Published by tivating qualities of repose, of forgiv-Com- ing our enemies and living the life pany, New York. After beautiful as far as we, the well-to-do, reading the five hun- are concerned, and others of our set, dred pages of this book, much of what he says is worthy of the modern-minded in- serious consideration and commendadividual has but one tion and certainly it is very worthy very vivid impression, of acceptance as good advice by just namely that it is a the very people to whom it is address-thing to be the pastor of ed. But it is when Rev. Mr. Hillis rich and influential church. touches the province of practical It is dangerous because a man of economics, which is absolutely neces-It is dangerous because a man of upright nature finds it necessary to look several ways at once, and to reconcile God and Mammon in a way which Scripture tells us explicitly cannot be done. When the Rev. lute ignorance of the subject; or a Hillis remains in that province which is considered by those members of the congregation who contribute most to be able to preach his doctrine for largely towards the maintenance of the conomics, which is absolutely necessary (something he fully understands) in dealing with the sin and sorrow of the world to-day, he is torn assume this ignorance because of the false premises he needs to be able to preach his doctrine for largely towards the maintenance of the kind of people who listen to him on Sundays. The keynote of his eco- On one page the writer seems to see nomic belief could be summoned up the danger to our institutions from in the now famous speech of Mr. the growing power of the great cor-Baer, of the Reading Company—"The porations, but this glimpse of life is Christian men to whom God in His soon shrouded in the darkness of Divine providence, has given the own- quite the opposite way of thinking. ership of the coal lands." Mr. Hillis Another time, we are told with persays, when speaking of the terribly fect gravity that "many of the social heavy load entailed by wealth and abuses and problems of the day spring honors: "No Croesus would ever a out of poverty." Were Mark Twain second time take up his burden un- to write that many of the problems

upon him."

condemnation strong enough for the has not lost any of his humor. proper characterising of this sentence gospel who preaches the doctrine of would not be worthy of serious considinto ridicule. This is the burden of hearing which might make his pernithe book so far as any burden can be cious doctrines really harmful. Many found in the mass of contradictory are lulled into inaction at least, if cant which fills the pages. First we not into harmful action, by such hear that there can never be an smooth vague preachings. equality of gifts-which no one disputes; then we find the writer confusing the meaning of the words an equality of gifts" with "an equality of profits." We hear that those who have attained the summits of success in any line, are there because God in His Divine Providence (see Baer) has so appointed it and given them the gift; then we hear that many of the gifted ones of earth to whom God had given a precious message to mankind, had to struggle and toil in obscure poverty and die before the tardy recognition came. We hear of reformers who are blamed by Mr. Hillis for telling "that if men and women live too close to each other it becomes impossible for them to be Christians or to lead decent and sweet lives." Mr. Hillis has scarcely words enough for the horrible crime of these misguided "reformers," and yet several chapters further on he himself has a good deal to say on the evils of overcrowding which proves he knows the facts in the case as well as anyone. We hear that the moneymaking talent is the "most signal of God's gifts" and we would like to know how to reconcile that statement with the teaching of Christ, and with much of what Mr. Hillis himself very wisely says about the crime of too greedy a money-getting. The captains of industry are lauded one moment, the next the iniquity of the garment trust is inveighed upon.

less the good God especially laid it of the matter of heating houses spring from cold weather," we should There is absolutely no word of shake with laughter and say that he

One night go on forever with such in the mouth of a minister of the examples, but as aforesaid, the book Christ—were it not so inanely silly eration were it not that the author's that it turns its own harmfulness offiical standing can gain for him a

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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Rational Prohibition

By Walter L. Young. An address before a meeting of temperance workers showing that it is impossible to suppress intemperance so long as people can make a profit out of selling liquor, and that the only rational prohibition is abolishing the profit system.

Woman and the Social Problem.

By May Wood Simons. Explains that the political and domestic subjection of women is due to their economic subjection to the men of the capitalist class, that political liberty alone would be of no real benefit to women, and that their complete emancipation can only be brought about through Socialism.

Socialism and the Home.

By May Walden Kerr. Tells how all the essentials of a happy home are destroyed by capitalism; how the economic dependence of women results in loveless marriages and equally degrading subjection outside marriage; how the one hope of woman's emancipation is in Socialism, and how women can help to hasten its coming.

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Socialism and Trade Unionism.

By Daniel Lynch, President of Union No. 11, Boston, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. With this is printed Trade Unions and Socialism, by Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen. This booklet explains the present friendly reations between the organized Socialists and the Trade Unions.

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The Vanguard Press, Green Bay, Wisconsin

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SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS



To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, PROVINGE 2003 2014 MeCompany 1

Rooms 303-304, McCague Bldg., Omaha, Neb.

Call for Contributions to the

National Organizing Fund To Organize for Socialism

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, CIALIST PARTY,

OMAHA, NEB., FEB. 1st 1904. COMRADES:-The plans now being developed and carried out by the National Headquarters for the purpose of strengthening the Socialist Party organization for the national campaign of this year require the assistance and support of Socialists everywhere.

The work done in this direction during the past year has already shown itself in an increased membership and a solidarity of purpose and action which promises still greater things for the future. To continue to extend the influence and activity of the Socialist Party into every part of the United States should be the ambition and desire of all Socialists.

The opporunities for Socialist agitation surround us on every hand. Every daily newspaper points the party organization for the coming lesson of the class struggle for us to national struggle, which will test send home to the minds and hearts of our strength to the utmost. the working class. From East and West, North and South, arises the crash of industrial conflict. Steadily and inexorably the line between the exploiting and exploited classes is becoming clearer and clearer drawn, so that none can ignore its deep significance. It is for us, the Socialists, to take advantage of these opportunities and use them for the furtherance of our cause.

The situation in Colorado, growing more and more acute, demands our first attention. John W. Slavton, of New Castle, Penn., one of the ablest and best equipped Socialist workers in America, is being placed in Colorado to cover that field under the direction of the Colorado State Commitee.

In a short time organizers will be placed in the field for the special purpose of reaching the people speaking foreign languages. It is important that the large population of Germans, Bohemians, Italians, Frenchmen, Jews and other nationalities, daily growing larger, should be reached by Socialist organizers and literature, so that they will not continue to be used by the capitalist politicians. Capable comrades have already been selected to this important work.

In addition to this will be the agitating and organizing yet to be done among the English speaking people in many states where organizations are not strong or matured. During 1903 the National Organizers visited hundreds of places where a Socialist speaker had never been heard before. This work must go on until the soil is well tilled and local movements developed.

Comrades, we ask you to assist in the consummation of our plans by subscribing what you can to the National Organizing Fund. The National work so well begun should not be allowed to lag for want of sufficient support. If you receive one of our coin cards fill it out and return as soon as possible. If you have not received a card, one will be sent you upon request. If you do not care to use the card, a contribution by postal order or check will be as much appreciated. Only do something, if at all able, to strengthen the

Send all remittances and communications to the National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb.

Fraternally yours, JOHN M. WORK, Iowa, B. BERLYN. Illinois VICTOR L. BERGER, Wisconsin, S. M. REYNOLDS, Indiana, CHARLES DOBBS, Kentucky, National Quorum,

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ist cause at heart.

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There can be no doubt that many persons are becoming interested in Socialism, and we need a journal that will give them the information they

desire.

We need up-to-date illustrations, and arguments from the latest economic and sociological literature. Such a paper will win over to our cause many persons, who only need to have the truth as to higher social needs of the age brought home to them, in order to make them convinced and active Socialists.

Not less important is the need that membership should be our own thoroughly trained in Socialist principles. Objections should be met, fresh arguments presented, ample illustrations afforded from science, history, and politics. In order to ac-

need a paper that will be second to none published in New England, and that will command confidence because of its ability and Such a paper will circulate power. widely outside of New England, and have the effect of elevating the standard and methods of the whole Social-, ist press. The current notion that Socialism is merely the result of ignorance, unrest, and rebellion will be overthrown; and it will become apparent that it is a great world-movement, resting on the soundest scientific principles and the largest social It will be shown that it is each pay \$1.00 in advance, as a yearly affirmative, progressive, and Ameri-

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The VANGUAR D

"We're beaten back in many a fray, Yet newer strength we borrow, And where the vanguard camps today, The rear shall rest tomorrow.

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY. WIS., MARCH, 1904.

NO. 7

Despite our marvelous success and achievement, we have failed to secure opportunities to all, which is the radical aim and master passion of democracy. than 70 per cent of the wealth of the United States, it is reckoned, is owned by 9 per cent of the families, while about 29 per cent of the wealth is all that is left for the 91 per cent of the population, and the tendency of industrial progress under the competitive system is to increase inequality of possessions.

If the present methods continue a few individuals and trusts will soon control the means of production and distribution, and this in an era in which money is the mightiest form of social influence and dominion. To those few individuals and corporations will belong an authority and power greater than any history makes knownan authority and power which are incompatible with political liberty and popular institutions.

Capital dictates even now in a large measure the policies of our national, state, and municipal legislative bodies. It enables the multimillionaires and the trusts to make or evade the laws. It controls most potent organs of public opinion, and is able to give to industrialism priority over the rights of man.

The most fervid advocates of the soundness of property rights are those who have made fortunes by bribing legislatures and municipalities, or by crushing competitors, -BISHOP JOHN L. SPALDING.

coming from so conservative a quar new gospel-Socialism-is a ter during the past month, ought to Whosoever treacherously stifles it is awaken serious thought on the part a criminal." of those who regard the industrial unrest and Socialist agitation of our ist. He simply recognizes the fact that most common of the economic situation has grown in-relates to "equality." terrible is going to happen. The So- mean that all shall share alike in the cialist agrees with the Bishop in part wealth of the country, much less does but sees in the recent developments it imply a "dead level" of mental atof capitalism the hastening of its tainment or mechanical skill. Socialdownfall and seeks to prepare the ism does not propose "to divide all way for a peaceful transition to a property into equal parts;" only the new and better social order. The ignorant or untruthful will make time is ripe for a great economic such an assertion. The motto of change. Industrial democracy is at Socialism is: "Everybody according

Such an utterance as the above, "whosoever is content to scoff at the

The objections to Socialism urged day as the work of "calamity howlers" by the defenders of capitalism are and the result of "class hatred" and for the most part objections to someprejudice against the rich. Bishop thing which is called Socialism but Spalding is no "agitator" or alarm- which is foreign to it. One of the these objections The equality tolerable and fears that something which Socialism demands does not hand; and, in the words of Emile Zola, to his deeds," which means that every

extent of that product will depend on the exertion of the worker himself.

SOCIALISM THE GOSPEL OF PEACE

Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist leader, said recently in an address to the strikers at Brussels, "Let us take the motto which the Christians have abandoned, 'Thou shalt not kill.' "

Strangely enough the Socialists. who are sometimes supposed to advocate strife and violence, are the only class of people the world over who have stood consistently for peace and peaceful methods.

In spite of the peace tribunal at The Hague, in spite of all the sincere aud insincere prayers for peace, the capitalistic order cannot give the world peace. Capitalism is essentially a contentious system. In the last analysis nearly all international complications arise out of the demand of capitalistic greed for larger markets and are the inevitable result of capi-That is, the talistic exploitation. workers of the world, producing, as a rule, twice as much as they get in return, are continuously piling up surplus,-the accumulation of things italis m destroys its own market quest of foreign markets.

osophy of peace, Everywhere advo- Socialism will deal out equal and excating a principle that guarantees to act justice. It will treat the whole the laborers the full product of their army of "hobos" and toil, it strikes at the root of all war whether of the "upper" or "lower" and furnishes the only possible basis class, with impartiality by giving of universal peace, that is, justice. them what they are entitled to, no Realizing that wars are but the more, no less. And it will guarantee result of the unjust demands of cap- the honest toiler, whether of hand, italism, the Socialists in every nation heart or train, his just due. It means

worker shall receive the full product cialists of Japan recently passed reof his labor or its equivalent in the solutions declaring their adherence necessaries and conforts of life. The to the principle of universal peace, and this is their plea; give the workers of the world justice and there will be no cause for war.

> So in the brutal fight between capital and labor within our own borders. and within the borders of other countries, the Socialists everywhere are the advocates of peace. They are accused by the unthinking of stirring up class hatred, but, as everyone knows who has studied the subject. the class struggle has existed since the beginning of human tyranny of which capitalism is the continuance. Socialists would abolish the class struggle by peaceful methods. savs to the workers: use the ballot rather than the strike and never the bludgeon or the bullet.

> And what a splendid message is theirs! They demand the fulfilment of the holiest hope of humanity, of the prophets' vision and the Nazarene's teaching: "They shall beat their sword into plowshares, their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, shall they learn war any neither more." "Blessed are the peacemakers," for they shall have peace

"The Co-operative Commonwealth," they need but cannot buy. Thus cap- says Gronlund, "will leave everybody at perfect liberty to work as much or and is forced to undertake the con- as little as he pleases, or not at all, but will make his consumption exactly com-Socialism is essentially the phil- mensurate with his performances," Thus stand steadily against war. The So- that all shall have equal opportunity and

access to the sources of life. "Thereiustrument of fleecing his fellows."

SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCHES

interview with the Rev. Frank Ballard in Great Thoughts, on "Religion and the Workingman," charge of hypocrisy. there are some sentences which Sunday and do a very different thing labor. on the week-day."

this discrepancy between profession moral by legislation. It simply proeaten so of the trading community business unselfishly." it may be said the motto is, 'cheat sion on the church,

There are, moreover, thousands of by it will afford the very mightiest men who are in entire sympathy with stimulus for individuality to unfold the teaching of Christ and who give itself. Property will belong to its to the support of the churches, who possessor by the etrongest of all remain outside the membership of titles, to be enjoyed as he thinks these bodies because they feel the inproper, but not to be used as an compatibility between the demands of true religion and the demands of our industrial order. They know that in "business" they are obliged, if "successful," to disregard the precepts of the gospel, and they are unwilling to put themselves in a position where they would be open to the

Under Socialism a man will no longshould be pondered over by ministers er feel that he must ride on the backs and church members alike. "I honest- of others or others will ride on his ly believe," says Mr. Ballard, "that back, but it will be to the interest of if only the churches were Christian, each and all to act in a brotherly the workingmen would turn to them spirit. The incentive to cheat and in a body In all churches we have a to obtain wealth by unjust means neucleus who are genuine and devot- will be gone when honest industry ed, but around this neucleus is a large alone is rewarded and the worker is percentage who sing one thing on guaranteed the full value of his

Socialism does not But Mr. Ballard fails to explain "change human nature" or make men and practice on the part of church poses to do away with the necessity people. We do not believe that the and possibility of one man succeeding majority of them wittingly and will- thru the failure of another. It aims ingly play the hypocrite. They do at equality of opporunity, economic not practice deception, adulterate freedom and justice for all. And if the goods and overreach their fellows in churches understood Socialism and business because they are bad and were really sincere in the prayer, "Thy want to act in an unchristian fashion, Kingdom Come," they would be in but because under the present econ- the vanguard of this great movement omic system they feel compelled to for the abolition of capitalism and resort to these means in order to the inauguration of the Co-operative "succeed" that is, to make money. Commonwealth, for, as Edmund Kelly Herbert Spencer tells that "as the says, "Christianity is only possible in law of the animal world is eat or be a society organized to transact its

Socialism alone will enable the or be cheated." Competition con-churches to be Christian in deed as tradicts the ethics of Christ's gospel, well as name, to win the confidence compels men to violate the Golden of men and go forward to a realiza-Rule, and brings shame and confu-tion of their ideals of peace and good-will. S.

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A VISION OF TO-DAY

- I passed the plate in church.
- There was a little silver, but the crisp bank notes heaped themselves up high before me;
- And ever as the pile grew the plate became warmer and warmer, until it fairly burned my fingers, and a smell of scorching flesh rose from it, and I perceived that some of the notes were beginning to smolder and curl, half-browned at the edges.
- And then I saw through the smoke into the very substance of the money, and I beheld what it really was;
- I saw the stolen earnings of the poor, the wide margin of wages pared down to starvation;
- I saw the underpaid factory girl eking out her living on the street, and the overworked child, and the suicide of the discharged miner;
- I saw poisonous gases from great manufactories spreading disease and death;
- I saw despair and drudgery filling the dram-shop:
- I saw rents screwed out from brother men for permission to live on God's land;
- I saw men shut out from the bosom of the earth and begging for the poor privilege to work in vain, and becoming tramps and paupers and drunkards and lunatics, and crowding into almshouses, insane asylums and prisons;
- I saw ignorance and vice and crime growing rank in stifling, filthy slums;
- I saw usury, spring from usury, itself again born of unjust monopoly and purchased laws and legalized violence;
- I saw shoddy cloth and adulterated food and lying goods of all kinds, cheapening men and women and vulgarizing the world;
- I saw hideousness extending itself from coal-mine and foundry over forest and river and field;
- I saw money grabbed from fellow-grabbers and swindled from fellow-swindlers, and underneath them the workman forever spinning it out of his vitaes;
- I saw all the laboring world, thin and pale and bent and care-worn and driven, pouring out this tribute from its toil and sweat into the laps of the richly dressed men and women in the pews, who only glanced at them to shrink from them in disgust;
- I saw these gifts of the wealthy and well-to-do given grudgingly from hoards so great that it could not be missed, as a bribe from superstition to a dishonest judge in the expectation of escaping hell.
- I saw all this and the plate burned my fingers so that I had to hold it first in one hand and then in the other; and I was glad when the person in his white robes took the smoking pile from me on the chancel steps and, turning about, lifted it up and laid it on the altar.
- It was an old-time altar indeed, for it bore a burnt offering of flesh and blood—a sweet savor unto the Moloch whom these people worship with their daily round of human sacrifices.
- The shambles are in the temples as of yore, and the tables of the money-changers waiting to be overturned.—ERNEST CROSBY.

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A GLANCE AT ENGLISH SOCIALISM

By REV. C. W. PORTER SHIRLEY

Anyone looking at England at the present time, when Mr. Chamberlain is stumping the country on the fiscal question, and the Nonconformists are fighting an iniquitous education bill, and the Cabinet in such a medley, would think that "Socialism" was a dead letter. Such, however, is not the case. No nation is so fully alive to its economic conditions as the English, and though there may be a great many questions more prominent, "The Socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange" is well to the front. Elections are being fought from time to time on a straight issue between capitalism and Socialism.

Harry Quelch, the editor of Justice, is perhaps the best known of the Parliamentary candidates. His ability as writer and speaker is of the first class. The S. D. F., as the Social Democratic Federation is known is the party which stands for scientific, uncompromising Socialism, and is fighting bravely and well the forces of capitalism. With such men as Hyndman, Belfort Bax, Walter Crane, H. Quelch, Dán. Irving, the S. D. F. is making itself felt in the country. The Independent Labor Party, with Kier Hardie at its head, is not doing so well as it might be. Its officials are some what given to trimming and opportunism. Still they are contesting several seats, and doing propaganda work for the movement.

Another party which has sprung into existence this last few months is known as the Labor Representation Committee. This is a party made up of trades unionists, whether Tory, Liberal or Socialist, and as a party is running candidates for parliament on Labor Questions only. Although not fighting as straight an issue as one would desire, it is doing some good in bringing the workers of England to think on questions affecting their intersts and it is hoped that it will soon lead them to consider the conditions and principles of the competitive system.

In turning to journals connected with the movement, first and foremost comes "Justice" with Harry Quelch as editor dealing with the scientific aspect of Socialistic economics. Next we have the "Clarion" with Nunquam (Robert Blatchford) as the chief scribe, a paper with a circulation of 60,000 and dealing with the popular side of Socialism. Perhaps none has done more than Blatchford to popularize the Socialistic movement. His two books "Merrie England" and "Britian for the British" are known on every hand.

Coming to what may be termed the forces of Christian Socialism, we have in the van the "Christian Social Brotherhood" with the eloquent Baptist divine Dr. Clifford as president, and the Rev. Will Reason as secretary. Dr. Clifford stands out as being the finest specimen of a minister of the Gospel of Christ, who is working to make the principles of that Gospel the common elements of everyday life. The "Social Union" is also doing good work amongst the adherents and members of the Church of England. Whilst there is a great deal, for which one may be thankful, as regards the progress of the Socialistic movement in the ranks of the English clerg y and whilst owing to such books as V. Rowntree's "Poverty of York" and General Booth's "Darkest England," some attention is paid to social reform, there is still a lot of intolerance shown to the minister who

dares to strike against the present competitive capitalistic system.

However we think we may say that the outlook for English Socialism is full of promise. Many factors are working for the realization of its principles. Conditions are such, that the consideration of social reforms are forced upon the workers, whilst the Socialist parties, each from its own stand point are pressing home the lessons to be learnt from every economic change.

What Hinders Socialism?

Judge W. E. Richardson, of Spokane, says:

Nine out of every ten men outside of the insane asylums would be Socialists today or in less than a year if it were not for prejudice. There is something for Socialists to learn from this fact. You may be a simon pure, class conscious, revolutionary scientific Socialist from now to the day of your death, but until you learn how to disarm and overcome the prejudice against Socialism that now exists in the minds of the majority of workingmen, you cannot be a successful worker in this cause. Tact, sympathy, common sense, forbearance, patience. courtesy—these are as necessary as scientific knowledge.

This is a timely utterance.

All Socialist workers should ponder it well.

To meet the situation is the special mission of THE VAN-GUARD.

It is an eye-opener.

There is nothing like it to break down prejudice and start people thinking.

It is making many converts to the cause.

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What do you say Comrades? The matter is in your hands.

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THE RELIGION OF SOCIALISM

By GEORGE E. LITTLEFIELD



N the life and time of Jesus we have a pathetic illustration of how a sublime personality, representing Truth, was scorned and crushed by the insidious efforts of the Scribes and the Pharisees, in the name of law and religion. So today, in the name of law and religion, entrenched and servile priests and politicians would crucify those who stand for the truth and brotherhood that Jesus died for, and try to set back and destroy the mighty worldwide movement of Socialism which embodies the simple principles of Christianity and the best elements of every great human faith, and is to be their cul mination and fulfilment.

For this is precisely the religious aspect of Socialism. The most deeply religious Socialists perceive the possibility of a new and greater universal religion rising out of a just and more abundant economic life. As the plant thrives and blossoms more beautifully under propitious conditions, so a grander, simpler, truer, unifying, scientific religious faith will gloriously burst into bloom in the Co-operative Commonwealth where, as in a garden of the gods, Brotherhood flourishes and the Golden Rule is practiced as spontaneously as flowers perfume the air.

This greater religion will probably not be Buddhism, Judaism, possibly not even Christianity: certainly not labeled Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, or Protestant, Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Unitarian or any of the other 300 and more sectarian names, but it will be the good and true and beautiful in all human aspiration, love and science blended with the greater knowledge, deed and promise yet to come. Real religion—the wonderful efflorescence of our coming nobler and higher socialistic civilization—this we anticipate.

And while we Socialists are not shouting, "Lord! Lord!" or standing, in the chief places thanking God we are not as other men, (all the while, as pillars of the church, strenuously upholding a dishonest industrial system that sanctions one class exploiting another by means of rent, interest and profit just as one tribe used to spoil another with arrows, spears, and boomerangs), nevertheless we are religious, most of us so deeply religious that conventional churches do not satisfy our souls; but our religion is only apparent by our struggle for justice, for industrial honesty, social and personal integrity.

Who are the real materialists and atheists, those who mouth the name of God and grovel and graft for gold, or those, like Socialists, who hunger and thirst and work for Righteousness and keep silent in their hearts the name of the Most Sacred?

So faithless are many professors of faith, so unjustly do they apply the forces of economic determinism under capitalism to make the masses, like their hypocritical masters, atheistic materialists, which leads them to mental, moral and physcial degeneration, that Socialists with their real faith (altho professing no religiosity—sometimes professing the opposite of what hypocrites proclaim), would use the economic forces for liberty, soul-unfoldment, and the consequent, mental moral and physcial

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development of humanity.

Now if we Socialists lay the emphasis strongest on Righteousness, tho sadly we turn from the sanctuary and must condemn the abominations tolerated by posing apologists of a perverting sacerdotalism, nevertheless in our very ethical stand we are religious-vitally, practically religiousand the time will surely come when our false accusers and calumniators will curse the day they ever cursed Socialism, and their misinformed and reviling dupes will be sorry and say they were always Socialists at heart anyway.

For Truth and Right will prevail, and woe to the man, woe to the church, woe to the party that, still malignant, slinks away into shame ond oblivion. Their end will be as a feast of bitter herbs and the gall of remorse shall be their drink. But it is in our heart to forgive them, for they know not what they do.

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW

And stack them handy by: Five hundred million cringing clods For bare existence cry;

A hundred royal rulers drain Their peoples' purses dry.

Unnumbered soldiers load their guns Lo! Greed and Hate march side by side Beneath the flag of Lust; The sword of war is burnished bright, The spade resigned to rust: While all the nobler arts of man Lie prostrate in the dust.

> Higher the serf shall surely climb, To work his own release: Then prayer and song shall celebrate The monster War's decease, And glad mankind at last abide In universal peace. -FRANK A. PUTNAM.

HOW TO ABOLISH CRIME

It is easy to see how to do away with what we call crime. It is not so easy to do it. It can be done by giving the people a chance to live—by destroying special privileges. So long as big criminals can get the coal fields, so long as the big criminal has control of the city council and gets the public streets for street car and gas rights, this is bound to send thousands of poor people to jail.

The only way on earth to abolish crime and criminals is to abolish the big ones and the little ones together. Make fair conditions of life. Abolish the right of the private ownership of land, abolish monopoly, make the world partners in production, partners in the of life. Abolish the right of the private ownership of land, abolish monopoly, make the world partners in production, partners in the good things of life.-Clarence S. Darrow.

SOCIALISM IN A NUTSHELL

THE EVILS IT SEES AND HOW IT WOULD CURE THEM

By A. L. BENSON, Editorial Writer Of The Detroit Times.

Address delivered before the Men's Club of St. Joseph's Memorial Church, Detroit, Sunday, Dec, 20, 1903.



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N ORDER that you may better understand what Socialism IS, perhaps it would be well to place your minds in a receptive condition by first telling you what it IS NOT. On this point, there is widely prevalent such a variety of grotesque and-to Soof what Socialism really

stands for that progress may accelerated by clearing away a little of the dead timber that obstructs the

Socialism does NOT stand for "dividing up' property—stoutly as many conscientious, but misguided souls may contend to the contrary. Such a demand was never made by any Socialist platform, nor does the literature of Socialism teach or advise it.

Socialism has absolutely nothing in common with anarchy with which its name is so frequently linked both by the misinformed and the malicious. This, you can readily believe when you pause to consider that anarchism stands for NO GOVERNMENT, while Socialism seeks to establish a more highly organized and a more useful government than the world has ever seen.

Nor does Socialism stand for any of those various forms of violence, disorder, or armed revolution to existing government that characterize the "propaganda of the deed," which is the excuse for crime of the king-killing revolutionary communists of the old world, or of the mob spirit that tries to wipe out real or fancied wrongs with fire and blood.

So much for what Socialism IS NOT: now what it is: Socialism acquiring more wealth, and the lat-broadly speaking, is of two kinds—ter merely as a product of labor. So-Utopian and scientific. Utopian So-cialism would not prevent an individcialism was the dream of men like ual from owning his own house. Charles A. Dana, and those who went

with him to make the famous experiment in co-operative industry at Brooks Farm; of Thoreau, William Morris and others Utopian Socialism never was of any economic importance; it is not of any economic importance now.

Scientific Socialism, with which I purpose to deal, was formulated about 50 years ago by a German Jew, named Karl Marx. It was evolved from the cialists-humorous ideas revolutionized economic conditions that followed the introduction of mainto productive industry. chinery And it was brought forth by a man who saw so clearly and was so well able to reason from cause to effect that 35 years ago, he foretold the colossal combinations of industry now known as trusts.

> Marxian Socialism-for such it has come to be called-has identical fundamental aims and purposes, standing for the same things in all parts of the world. And for general definitions of what it is, let me refer you to some recognized authorities in the art of defining words and terms as well as to some noted students of political economy:

> The Bncyclopedia Britannica says: "The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity."

ethics of Christianity."
Webster's dictionary says: "A theory of society that advocates a more precise orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."

Prof. Ely says: "Socialism is simply Christianity applied to every day life."

To be more specific, Socialism

stands for these things: The abolition of competitive, private capital and the substitution of public, co-operative capital. And in this connection, it is well to bear in mind the correct meaning of "capital" and "wealth" when used in their economic sense; the former meaning aggressive wealth, or wealth used in

Socialism would also destroy the

wage system, by giving everybody inery, the manufacturing power of free access to the tools of production the world is doubled every seven and distribution, thereby obviating the necessity of compelling the worker to promise to give a part of his product to the man who owns the tools as the price of their use.

To support one's self being a duty, Socialism would give everyone the means with which to perform this duty by enabling him to demand work as a right, instead of begging it as a privilege, as is now the rule.

Socialism would give everybody free access to the land and all natural resoures by abolishing private ownership in them and substituting ownership by all.

It would do away with the existmedium of exchange called money and substitute therefor, labor-time checks, certifying that the bearer had performed a certain number of hours of useful labor for society and was entitled to an equal number of hours of anybody else's product.

Socialism would prevent industrial panics by removing their cause—the inability of labor to obtain enough in the form of wages to buy back the very goods it produces.

It would prevent crimes of greed, not by changing human nature, but by ceasing to place a premium upon the things that greed does-in short, by removing the incentive to commit such crimes.

It would give every toiler the full product of his toil.

And lastly, it would place the control of the government in the hands of the working class who constitute 95 per cent of the population, instead of permitting it to remain in the hands of the 5 per cent who perform no useful labor.

This program, as you see, involves a revolutionary change in our indusneed for them. Let us see if there is demanded by Socialism:

The introduction of machinery has increased the productivity of labor thirty fold, and we have no less an

years."

In England alone, at the close of the last century, machinery was doing the work of 700,000,000 of men, or more than the adult population of the globe. And our own census reports tell us that in 1900, the aggregate motive power employed in manufacturing establishments in the United States was 11,300,081 horsepower, as compared with a fraction over two million horsepower in 1870.

If the capitalist system of industry were fair in its distribution of the products of labor, we might expect that the nine millions of horse-power of motive power that was applied to industry between 1870 and 1900, would either have made much richer the men who operated the machinery to which this power was applied, or else have enabled them to cut in two their own hours of labor. Yet so great an authority as John Stuart Mill it "is questionable if says of the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." And the financial condition of the workers is revealed by the census reports which show that the number who can afford to own homes is constantly decreasing, being 34.4 per cent in 1890 and 318 per cent in 1900. Add to this the known fact that while we are producing wealth with a degree of rapidity never equalled in any other age, the wealth of the nation is constantly concentrating into a fewer number of hands and it would seem to be apparent that the capitalist system contains some inherent weakness that requires a radical remedy if we are to avert the fate of those nations like Rome, Egypt and Persia that went down when a few had succeeded in acquiring most of the wealth of their respective countries.

At any rate, there are a number of trial and economic systems. Revolu- learned gentlemen who believe there tionary changes in anything are al- is something radically wrong with our ways to be avoided unless there be way of doing things. Prof. Huxley is one of them. In an article published need for the revolutionary changes in the Nineteenth Century magazine in 1890, he said:

I do not hesitate to express the opinion that if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the inauthority than Mr. Gladstone for the statement that "by the aid of mach-quence, and the wealth which follows upon

the dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and intensity of want, with its concomitant physical and moral degrada-tion among the masses of the people I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which should sweep the whole affair away.

So much on the general subject of the deplorable nature of the existing conditions and the necessity for radical action. Now to take up the specific things that Socialism purposes to do and see if there be necessity for the doing of these things.

Socialism proposes to abolish the wage system. The United States census reports for 1900 show that the average annual product of each worker was valued at \$2,450, while the average annual wage was \$437. The worker is therefore receiving in the form of wages only about a fifth of what he produces, the remainder being wasted by the competitive system or going into the employers' pockets in the form of profits.

Socialism would give everybody a right to work for a living. Capitalism, while holding that every able-labor to obtain enough in the form bodied man MUST make a living of wages to buy back its own products. in some way or other, or go to jail for vagrancy, makes work a privilege that must be sought as a favor instead of demanded as a right.

Socialism would give everybody free access to the land and all natural resources. Capitalism lets a few live in luxury without labor from the revenue received as the price of permitting others to use certain lands to which they claim to have a title. Thirty-five and three-tenths of all the farms in United States are owned by landlords and the percentage of farms thus owned is constantly in-There is an abundance of creasing. desirable land not used, but none that is not taken-claimed by some one, Socialists contend that the Creator made the earth for human beings to live on rather than to enable a favord few to live without work and to that end, would restore land to its original purpose.

Socialism would abolish money as a medium of exchange and substitute labor-time checks. Trace a dollar from the time a laborer earns it until he spends it and you will see why: as many manufacturers are doing at To get one dollar, a worker must create nearly \$6 worth of value as the intensifying the very condition that census reports show, so he loses about threatens disaster, With the worker 80 per cent of what he should receive receiving his entire product, as he at the start. Then he takes the dol- would under Socialism there could

lar's worth of value that he has created and tries to exchange it for a dollar's worth of someone else's value. But he doesn't get it. The wastes of competition and the profits of private capitalists are such that the thing he gets for a dollar really represents hardly more than 30 or 40 cents worth of the other's value, if so much. the toiler produces \$6 worth of value to enable him to get less than a half dollar's worth of another's products. Socialism would givre a man a labortime check certifying that he had performed say 10 hours of useful labor. When he went to buy his supplies, he would find them all marked "8 hours" or "7 hours," instead of "\$2" or "98 cents." The laborer thus not only receive the full product of his toil in the first instance, but he would be able to exchange it for an equal amount of the product of anybody else.

Socialism would prevent panics by removing their cause—the failure by

Panics as we all well know, are caused by "overproduction"-at least our capitalist friends tell us so. But isn't it a bit strange to tell a man that he must starve because he has manufactured too much food and that he must go poorly clad because he has made too much clothing? The real cause of industrial depressions of the kind with which we are now threatened, is that the increased productivity of labor, due to the introduction of machinery, has enabled the world to produce more rapidly than it can consume-which would not be an unfortunate circumstance if everybody could work fewer hours a day, or fewer days in a year. But while the productivity of labor, according to the census reports, has increased about 600 per cent in the last 60 years, wages have increased less than 100 per cent, with the result that labor, unable to buy the very things it has produced, compels manufacturers to curtail or suspend production for a time on account of inability to dispose of their goods. To reduce wages, present, merely greases the slide by

never be an industrial depression, because everybody would be able to obtain the necessaries of life by exchanging for them an equal amount of his own products. And since, even in times of industrial depression, the DEMAND for the necessaries of life is as great as at any other time, it is plain that labor would always be kept employed making the things that society needs.

one at that—with capitalists who transgress all laws, human and divine in the pursuit of dollars that do not belong to them by any stretch of the imagination. But their chief quarrel is with the capitalist system. They believe that competition is war and that war is just what Gen. Sherman said it was. Therefore they seek to avert it by substituting co-operation. But the more advanced Socialists ev-

I have said that Socialism would prevent crimes of greed, not by changing human nature but by removing the incentive to commit such crimes. The Bible very truly says that "money is the root of all evil."

By abolishing money as a medium of exchange, Socialism would get rid of the root. Nor would the labor-time checks with which it is purposed to supplant money amount to the same thing, since there would be little if any barter and sale among individuals. Nobody would buy shoes of an individual and enable him to make a profit thereon, when he could as easily get them from the government at cost. The same fact applies to all articles of commerce.

In conclusion, I may say, that Socialists have no quarrel with the individual capitalist. Having in mind the statement made by Dun's Review a few years ago that 97 per cent of those who go into business fail sooner or later, they look upon him rather as a fellow sufferer. Of course, they who see so many signare a quarrel—and a very violent its coming—becaus its coming—becaus be born until the proper time for the will be when the per it. And to make for it, by laying before a fellow sufferer. Of course, they who see so many signare a quarrel—and a very violent because to make the born until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—becaus to make the born until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—because the born until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—because the born until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—because the bear until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—because the born until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—because the born until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—because the born until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—because the born until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—because the born until the proper time for the will be when the per its coming—because the born until the proper time for the will be when the proper time for the proper time for the will be when the proper time for the pro

transgress all laws, human and divine in the pursuit of dollars that do not belong to them by any stretch of the imagination. But their chief quarrel is with the capitalist system. believe that competition is war and that war is just what Gen. Sherman said it was. Therefore they seek to avert it by substituting co-operation. But the more advanced Socialists even look upon the competitive system with a certain degree of tolerance, because they regard it as an inevitable step in the world's search for a better way of managing industry. In other words, competition was the inevitable child of feudalism-inevitable because it was the best means that the people of 300 years ago could de-In like manner, they regard Socialism as the next step in the onward march of progress and civilization. Believing, as we do, that Socialism is to be the child of capitalism, just as capitalism was the child of feudalism, we feel no more doubt about its coming than does the mother about the birth of her unborn child. For that reason, many of us are waiting with no trace of impatience for its coming-because nothing should be born until the proper time. The proper time for the birth of Socialism will be when the people are ready for it. And to make the people ready for it, by laying before them its superior advantages, is the task of those who see so many signs of the crum-

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Coogle

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M. Chicago.

Let's Talk It Over

replies.

A. E., W. B., and others have asked why I am a conservative in all things pertaining to the political organization and a liberal as regards unions and clubs. I will women's answer this next month in order to explain fully I shall need more space than I can spare in this issue.

S. A. E. wishes to know whether women obtaining the right of suffrage wou'd not promptly bring in a reign of justice. That word promptly complicates a reply. In their present apathetic condition, women are possibly as fit to vote as the average man and better able than many men who now have the right of suffrage. In any case, by any course of reasoning along lines of justice, we must concede that they are citizens and therefore entitled to aid in ruling. But in view of the fact that in at least one state women used their first ballots to defeat the more liberal party, which had given them the right of stepping from the class of "imbeciles, infants and tribal Indians," can we be sure they would be *prompt* about inaugura-ting an era of Justice? Let's admit that, like the men, they need to be educated to see the self-evident, and then continue the work of enlighten-

X. Y. Z., asks: "Why work politically when the trade union movement is sure to eventually bring a Co-operative Commonwealth?' I am in tive Commonwealth?' trade unions, sympathy with the when they act sensibly; but I have never been able to understand the course of reasoning which makes them class-conscious every day except election day, and on that most important occasion splits them into factions which throw all power into the to say "No" when a boy and that leshands of these who are their econ-omic opponents. This is the more

strange because they have awakened to the fact that an employer's in-Comrades, please sign communicaterests are so opposed to theirs that tion with your names. I assure you it is not wise to have him in the these will not appear in full in my union, even though he has been of union, even though he has been of their number and they know him to be a good fellow. If an employer can not represent them in minor affairs, why make him a representative in legislative ones? I am in no way certain that, under most favorable circumstances, this movement would bring a true Co-operative Common-wealth: but if it did, it would only be after the workers had learned that the best place for the manifestation of power is at the ballot-box. because I believe a ballot more powerful than a bullet that I continue to work for political regeneration.

THE EX-MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS.

Twenty-seven years ago, as he came into my room with a breezy, "Well, my little lady, they tell me you are trying to be sick," I first saw Dr. A. A. Ames, now unpleasantly before the public because the courts have released him from the penitentiary on a technicality. Several times he saved my life and, if I were going to trust myself to an Allopath or under the surgeon's knife there is not in the U. S a physician to whom I would as fearlessly entrust my life, so I am urged by more than the cry of justice and my natural disposition to espouse the cause of one who is in hard luck, to say something of the side of his nature regarding which the public press has been so silent since trouble came to him.

When I knew him, he was a finelooking man, large of frame and heart, one of the only three handsome men I ever saw. Some folk claim to have seen scores, but from Atlantic'to Pacific I have never seen a fourth worthy to go in their list. But even his friends were wont to say. "Doc is his own worst enemy."He did not learn son is rarely mastered late in life.

When professionally engaged,
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cheer. It is claimed that his own son was the only diphtheretic patient he ever lost, and then Dr. Ames was so busy with similar cases among the very poor—who could not possibly pay for his services—that blood poisoning began in the little throat before the father of the doomed babe knew that he was ill.

I do not remember the exact date when Dr. Ames was first elected mayor of Minneapolis, but the event made a great stir in the city and was the occasion of a public demonstration seldom equalled in that part of the country. There were always those who disapproved of his administration, but I never heard him accused of dishonorable action in those days, even by his political opponents.

During the campaign in which he ran for Lieutenant Governor against a wealthy mill owner, whose failure for a few cents on the dollar caused fearful suffering among the poor, but is supposed to have contributed to his millions and gave him that polit-ical pull which the legislature has since obeyed, the enthusiasm of the "lower classes" was unbounded. I have heard many of the people's idols speak, but never one who could so smile away the very hearts of those to whom he had given fully and freely. There was no trouble with the local vote, for that was held by sheer force of his personality. Had he been as well known throughout the state, no one could have defeated him and he would have continued in public life at that time. When a man who has held no higher office than the mayorality is talked of as a Vice Presidential possibility(as he was in Cleveland's time,) there must be a cause. In his case it was his kindness to the poor.

Scores of anecdotes of Dr. Ames' humanitarianism occur to mind, but one must suffice because of the inelasticity of space. January of '84 was cold beyond the power of words to express; but one of its worst nights, when the mercury had dropped to thirty-eight below zero, a lantern was seen swaying to and fro in the

very presence brought health and freeze to death, then wrapped up and went to investigate. He was not only anixous to befriend a wayfarer, but curious. An instant later he shouted: "Why, Doc, what on earth are you doing way down here such a night as this?" The doctor explained that he was going to a sick woman on Cedar Avenue-and I chance to know that she was one of his charity patients. "But why are you not riding?" "D) you think I'd take a horse out a night like this, when I might have to tie it for hours?" was the indignant response, as he vigorously stamped and swung his arms to keep from freezing. There was no affecttion in this. He had not enough "policy" for a politician, and was finally regarded as "politically dead" because of his inability to keep from saying what he thought.

Come what may, I can not believe that Dr. Ames will ever be other than a whole-souled gentleman, the idol of the common folk whom he has always befriended. Probably he has given his city what he believed was the wish of the majority, for he bas always been too "liberal" in his ideas. But in a city which licenses brothels, is it strange that easy-going officials close their eyes to many irregularities? And can we be altogether surprised that one who is kept comparatively poor because of his charities, took advantage of his chance to secure a small part of the funds which gravitate into official circles?

Most heartily I deplore his wrongdoing, if it is a fact; and his down-fail is the more marked because of lifelong popularity and that of his ancestors. But is he not a product of the His natural impulses were system? uncommonly good. Why did he fall? Because the whole influence of our governmental life is to degrade those who occupy positions of trust, since it furnishes opportunity in that direction and no incentive in the other.

Like the rest of us, Dr. Ames had probably become accustomed to the betrayal of public trust and corruption no longer astonished him. After that, it was only a step to embracing the wrong which had ceased to be abbleak wind, evidently carried by one horrent to the general public. And who was fighting his way step by step who of us believes that the present through the deep snow. A young spasm of municipal housecleaning machinist who saw the glimmer, will last when the wnoie tenuency to wondered, watched to see that the in the other direction? Above all, one carrying it did not fall and how dare a Minneapolitan—and I re-

gard myself as one though I left that city twenty years ago-dare cen-The city "holds up" sure? public women by means of license exacted, thereby adding to its income a portion of the money gained by the sale of womanhood. Ames did irregularly what the public has done officially for years. He is a product of the system in vogue in Minneapolis, as well as that larger system which makes life a mad scramble for gold.

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CHATS WITH YOUNG FOLKS-3

Why Astronomers Think Our Earth Is Old

Those wise men whom we call astronomers have for many ages studied the stars which they see through the huge telescopes. Each of them has told or written down what he saw, so the next generation has known what happened in the past. In this way men know how baby worlds are formed. They have watched worlds in the school-boy stage rushing around with a hop, skip and a jump, running way out from the sun, then darting back again. (They call these young worlds, comets.) They have seen worlds get steady and settle down to their regular journey round the sun. They have seen worlds like ours, worlds that are younger, worlds that are older, and they have seen dead worlds. But in all the study, no one has ever seen a world which was made in a few days, so these men think our world was made just the same way that all other worlds are.

Do you think that a fair reason for belief? Let's see. Suppose their that you lived near a glass-cutter and often watched him at work. After a while you would notice that he worked very carefully, and that grinding and polishing is a slow process. Suppose that you see other glass-cutters and they all work in the same patient way, not one of them knowing how to make the real article by any quick process. If you enjoy watching this operation, perhaps you you will do it whenever you can. from the time you are a little child until you are old. New imagine that you look over a diary kept by your father, and another that his father wrote, and still another that your great grand-father wrote, and in all of them you read of glass-cutters who take a very

AT LAST! The Doctor problem solved. Pay no more money for drugs or guess-work. For 25c we will mail 20 absolutely drugless and costless cures for 20 common diseases, each cure guaranteed. Common Sense Club, Green Ray. Wis. teed. Con Bay, Wis.

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This little magazine, now entering upon its third year is a voice of the coming democracy. It tells about the New Clairvaux, or college settlement in the country, its life, school, and industries. It has departments devoted to Arts and Crafts, Nature and the Greenacre movement. During 1904 there will be a comprehensive series of articles on Co-opera-, tive industries and Communities.

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Would you not feel quite sure that at the earliest possible date. all such dishes are made slowly?

If, after you had studied this process a great many years and failed to find one case where it varied from what your ancestors and you your-self had seen, some one told you that he had read of one man who made one dish very quickly indeed, that the dish turned out all right, but that after he did the one quick job, he stopped the method then used and spent years doing the thing he could as well do in a few hours-would you not think some one had made a mistake?

Well, that is what the wise men who watch world making think. They believe the Great Ruler of the Universe does just as good work now as He ever did, so they feel sure that this earth was made as others are being made.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION

Finances permitting, there will be a national convention held in Chicago the first week in May, the time being so arranged because of its coincidence with the convention of the Socialist Party. If such a convention is held, all Socialists will be cordially invited to attend and all Socialist women, without regard to memberin the Union, have rights to the floor. If the men wish to speak, they must receive permission by vote of women present, because otherwise too many women sit back and refrain from discussions in which men join. This is to be a woman's convention.

The first meeting will be devoted to the need of separate discussing organization of women; and those women who have not yet realized this need are especially invited to be present and take part, for we all wish to see all sides of so important a ques-At later meetings, among other things, we will discuss why it does not seem best for the Union to to auxiliary to the political movement, what local Unions have done to aid the educational and political work, how we can best reach youths and children, and such other matters as may be of general interest. early, unofficial statement is designed to notify women to prepare to attend. Full particulars will be given SPOKANE, -

while if you think of anything helpful, call my attention to it promptly.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The result of the election of officers of the W. N. S. U. is the re-election of all the old officers as follows:

President Wenonah Stevens Abbott, Chicago, Ill., Vice-Pres.—Belle Kearney, Flora, Miss., Cor. Secv .-Marion H. Dunham, Burlington, Iowa, Rec. Secy.—Annie W. Clark, Colum-bus, Ohio, Treas.—E. M. Mason, Providence, R I.

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Frances E. Willard ON SOCIALISM

Look about you, the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands.

But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work

that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a Socialist is just here.

I would take, not by force but by the slow process of lawful acquisition, through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow and fatness of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY exists for the sole purpose of abolishing the "cruel injustice" spoken of by Miss Willard. It demands that the workers shall receive the full product of their labor—their private property. It aims to extend and secure personal rights. It will put a stop to "confiscation" by ending the system which now compels the masses of the people to "divide up" their earnings until the nation's wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few. It will save the home by securing each worker an income sufficient to maintain a family in comfort and send his children to school instead of the factory. It will abolish "graft," child labor and prostitution—the direct results of capitalism. If you want simple sastice, industrial peace and a higher civilization, VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET.

SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS



To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as, the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, ROOMS 303-304, McCague Bldg., Omaha,

Neh.

NOTES OF PROGRESS

From every section of the country reports come indicating that national convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago, May 1, will eclipse in interest the political gatherings of the year. It is pretty certain that every state will send its full quota of delegates. There will be also hundreds of visitors present from all over the country. The Socialist party is now regarded as the growing political movement that the old party managers dread the most.

The Socialists of Milwaukee are put. ting up a magnificent Municipal camaign with Victor L. Berger as their candidate for Mayor. Rousing meetings are being held nightly addressed by noted Socialist speakers such as Max Hayes, John M. Work, J. W. Slayton, Carl D. Thompson, Eugene V. Debs, Geo. D. Herron. A Milwaukee special to the Chicago Record-Herald, in a column article, discussing the situation and the probabilities of the outcome says: "Two years ago the Socialist party cast 9, 000 votes in the city. Conservative judges estimate that the party has gained in the past two years from 2,000 to 4,000 votes; other claim the increase is nearer 6,000 to 8,000. circum-It is held under present will not be suretances that it Socialist prising if the of elect a mayor Milnext city council is admitted even added on May 1.

now, and there are those who say the representation will be larger than that."

The New Jersey State Convention of the Socialist Party met at Newark Feb. 21st and 22nd, with 104 delegates present. State Secy. Killingbeck reports that the convention was a most enthusiastic and harmonious one, and as one veteran said," it was the best gathering of the kind he had attended in the state." Henry R. Kearns of Arlington was nominated for Governor, and a full delegation elected to the National Convention at Chicago, May 1.

The Michigan Socialist Party held its State Convention at Lansing, Feb. 25, 26. the attendance being large and the proceedings marked by determination and enthusiasm. The following state ticket was nominated: For governor, C. J. Lamb, Dryden: lieutenant-governor, J. A. C. Menton. Flint; secretary of state, H. P. Keaver. Laurium; treasuer, Martin Cooney, Saginaw; auditor general, D. B. Hovie, Grand Rapids: land commissioner, J. J. Stoll, Alpena: attorney general, Ira G. Mosher, Charlevoix; superintendent of public instruction, Wesley Emery: member state board of education, Geo. Perry. Gladstone: supreme justices, R. G. Kirsch, Manistee; J. D. Hunt, Jonesville, Peter Kratt, Muskegon.

A news dispatch from Rome states the following: After a long struggle for a naval parliamentary inquiry, the Socialists at last have gained a victory. This inquiry was opposed by victory. former Premier Zanardelli and his Cabinet and rejected by the Chamber of Deputies. It has now been decided by the Committee on the Navy of the Chamber of Deputies that this inquiry shall be held with the sanction of the Cabinet, and a bill authorizing it soon will be presented in Parliament." And the Socialists are everywhere gaining in Europe. The incoming of the democratic clay is breaking up the iron imperialism of the old-time rule.

The Socialist movement in Spain is Party arousing the violent antagonism both of anarchists and republicans, opposiwaukee in April, with a city ticket tion in which murderous assaults play as well. That the Socialists will a prominent part. The party now have from six to ten aldermen in the has 13 papers and 10 more are to be

MINNESOTA STATE NEWS

STATE CONVENTION

The Minnesota state convention of the Socialist Party was held in Minneapolis Feb. 21st and 22nd. F. A. Heliman acted as chairman the first day and M. N. Rogers on the second day. Fred Miller of St. Paul acted as Secretary throughout the convention with S. N. Rubin as assistant.

After the delegates were seated committees were appointed on credentials.amendments to the state constitution and platform, on rules and regulations and the press. The first

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J. E. NASII, Minneapolis

day was consumed in hearing reports from delegates and adopting com-

mittee reports.

On the second day a state ticket was nominated, and state officials and delegates to the national convention elected. The state ticket is as fol-Min-Governor, J. E. Nash. neapolis; lieutenant governor, O. E. Sheboygan: secretary Loftus, state, J. E. Carlson, St. Paul; treasurer, C. E. Keith, Mankato; attorney general. G. W. Downing. Fergus Falls; railroad and warehouse commissioner Cicero C. Talbott. Minneapolis.

The following were chosen presi-

dential electors: E. Marshner, New Ulm; G. W. Bucklin, Austin; F. A. Wilson, Angus: E. B. Ford, Faribault; M. N. Rogers, Minneapolis; S. M. Holman, Minneapolis; F. A. Webster, St. Paul; E. L. Andrew, Scanlon; O. W. Nelson, Deerwood; H. P. Austin, Ada;

B. W. Roberts, Minneapolis.

The following are the delegates to the national convention which meets in Chicago May 1: M. A. Brattland, Ada, Nicholas Klein, Wrenshall: J. E. Nash, Minneapolis; T. H. Lucas, St. Paul; A. N. Gilbertson, Willmar: Geo. B. Leonard. Minneapolis: S. M. Hol-Minneapolis; Alternates: E. Boskey, New Ulm, A. Hirschfield, Minneapolis: E. D. Cross, St. Cloud: E. B. Ford, Faribault; E. L. Anderson, Scanlon; F. G. Brower, Carlton: P. H. Zender, Austin.

S. M. Holman, who resigned as state secretary of the party, was presented with a gold watch by the convention as a testimonial of appreciation of the work he has done, the presentation speech being given by C. C. Mr. Holman responded ap-Talbott propriately in a brief speech. J. E. Nash was chosen as the state secretary to take the place of Mr. Holman.

The convention unanimously extended a vote of thanks to State Organizer Klein for his efficient work in The convention was most the state. successful, the atterdance exceeding the most sanguine expectations.

Minnesota State Organization Of the Socialist Party.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTE: Fred Miller, A. F. Morledge, St. Paul; S. M. Hol-man, Hazen M. Parker, M. N. Rogers, Min-

STATE SBCERTARY: J. E. Nash, 45 S. Fourth St, Minneapolis. STATE ORGANIZER: Nicholas Klein.

Care State Secretary
NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN: S. M. Holman, 11 Oak St. S. E. Minneapolis,

The Socialists of Minnesota are making arrangements for a great campaign. Three strong and effective organizers are already engaged. Comrade Nicholas Klein who has already organized twenty-seven locals in the state is to be kept at work steadily. Comrade Kirkpatrick who is now at work in Iowa, is to enter the state in April. And finally Comrade Carl D. Thompson has been engaged for an extended tour.

(Continued on Page 26)

A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS FOR SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA

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By Rev. William Thurston Brown. Shows how the Socialist movement embodies all that is vital in religion "Real religion is something which finds a man, rather than something which he finds. It is the great, deep undercurrent which sets toward justice and truth and love, It is not the basiness of men to learn its creed. It is their business to respond to its compulsion."

Rational Prohibition

By Walter L. Young. An address before a meeting of temperance workers showing that it is impossible to suppress intemperance so long as people can make a profit out of selling liquor, and that the only rational prohibition is abolishing the profit system.

Woman and the Social Problem.

By May Wood Simons. Explains that the political and domestic subjection of women is due to their economic subjection to the men of the capitalist class, that political liberty alone would be of no real benefit to women, and that their complete emancipation can only be brought about through Socialism.

Socialism and the Home.

By May Walden Kerr. Tells how all the essentials of a happy home are destroyed by capitalism; how the economic dependence of women results in loveless marriages and equally degrading subjection outside marriage; how the one hope of woman's emancipation is in Socialism, and how women can help to hasten its coming.

Socialism vs. Anarchy.

By A. M. Simons. Texplains the world-wide difference in aim and method between Socialism, which seeks through the united political action of the working class to transform government, and anarchism, which seeks through violence to abolish government.

The Man Under the Machine.

By A. M. Simons. A condensed and simple exposition of Socialism. Contents; The Life of the Workers Today: How the Laborer's Trouble Came; The Class Struggle; The Laborer of To-morrow. Over 30, 000 copies already sold; just the book to give a new inquirer.

Socialism and Farmers.

By A. M. Simons. Proves that the farmer, instead of being independent as he supposes himself, is in fact a piece-worker at the mercy of the capitalists who control the means of bringing his product into the form in which it can be consumed and to the place where it is needed at the time when it it is needed. The author shows the utility of money reform schemes and the real unity of interest between the farmer and the wage-worker.

Wage-Labor and Capital.

By Karl Marx. The great Socialist philosopher's theory stated in his own words This is not an abridgment or extract from "Capital," but a translation of an essay by Marx, in which the theory of surplus value is explained in as simple a way as the nature of the subject permits.

The Mission of the Working Class.

By Rev Charles H. Vail. A history of the growth of the Socialist movement. "Industrial democracy being in the line of evolution is certain of attainment. Democracy has already been obtained in politics and religion, and industry is passing through similar stages of development. The time has come for the manual and mental workers to unite and strike for liberty."

Socialism and Trade Unionism.

By Daniel Lynch, President of Union No. 11, Boston, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. With this is printed Trade Unions and Socialism, by Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen. This booklet explains the present friendly reations between the organized Socialists and the Trade Unions.

The Kingdom of God and Socialism.

By Rev. Robert M. Webster. Shows by a careful study of New Testament passages that in each case the term "Kingdom of God" points to a new social order such as the Social ist Party is endeavoring to establish. Effective for propaganda among religious people.

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Various Voices

No captain of industry ever watered stock without intending to soak somebody.—CHICAGO RECORD-HERALD.

The greatest paradox of the age is the Christian individualist—the man who preaches of love and insists that hate is the cohesive force that holds society together.—IOWA SOCIALIST.

The preacher who proclaims that human nature cannot be changed is wasting good time trying to save souls from hell fire, and is drawing a salary under false pretenses.—SEATTLE SOCIALIST.

We do not know who would perform the dirty work under Socialism. But much of the dirty work, such as bribing juries and buying city councils, would not have to be done at all.—WILLIAMSPORT STATESMAN.

Does it hurt you when you think? If so you are afflicted with that common disease, called by medical men prosperitoritis. A liberal application of philosophus socialismus will relieve if not entirely cure the disease.— ERIE PEOPLE.

Dun's Review is pleased to report that "labor organizations are accepting reductions in wages without controversy." They are like the deceased wife of the old German who, when asked if she was "reconciled to die," replied: "Mein Gott, she het to be!"—The Public.

Whether Socialism is right or wrong in theory, it offers the voter something more than a mere name if the old parties see cause for alarm in its progress, they should lose no time in offering the voting masses something more than the spectacle of a mere scramble for office and devote themselves honestly to wiping out some of the glaring evils under which the masses are suffering.—BOSTON HERALD.

When it is clearly proved that one man, or a few men can run the business of a nation, that the much vaunted competition is not the life of trade, but a relic of savagery, then the people will sav to the one man or the few men, 'We, the people, will own the business of the people, and not you, an individual." '—KIER HARDEE'S LABOUR LEADER.

"From Revolution to Revolution," George D. Herron's new pamphlet, sa masterpiece of pamphlet literature, a perfect classic, and should be read by every Socialist. Taking the illfated Paris Commune for his theme, tne author deals with it iu a manner that is as striking as With all the force of a latterday Carlyle he points out the lessons which we may learn from that episode. The pamphlet is well printed by the Comrade Co-Operative Co. (11 Cooper Square, N. Y.), and contains a striking portrait of the author. Price five cents.

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MINNESOTA STATE NEWS

(Continued from Page 23)

With this force of speakers and organizers, assisted by numerous local workers, no part of the state field will be neglected.

James F. Carey, five times elected socialist representative in Massachussetts, spoke in Minneapolis, Sunday March 6. It was a gala day for the workers and Comrade Carey, set forth the Socialist philosophy in a remarkably ciever and effective way.

The state laws of Minnesota require that every candidate must pay from \$5 to \$50 for the privilege of allowing his friends to vote for him. An elector must pay \$50; candidates on the state ticket. \$50; State Senators and representatives, \$20; Municipal officers, \$10, and ward officers, \$5. There are eleven electors, seven state officers, and some fifty legislative officers to be elected in the coming fall campaign. Should the Socialists put up a full ticket, they would have to meet a total expense of nearly \$2.000. With the old parties, whose politicians may tap the resources of the monopoly or trust, this obstacle is very easily met. But with Socialists an initial expense of \$2,000 to simply open the rather formidable. the campaign looks Which shows again that laws are made for the rich and not the poor. But this, too, the Socialists will overcome.

SOCIALIST SPEAKERS BUREAU

Comrade Nicholas Klein asks us to suggest that it would be a splendid idea for the Socialist speakers to form some kind of an association for the interchange of ideas. Some medium of discussion might be established thru which methods of orization, of preparation of Socialist lectures, of opening new territory etc. could the considered. Comrade Klein would be pleased to hear from Socialist speakers on this matter. He may be addressed care of S. M. Holman, 11 Oak St., S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.

For Socialist propaganda there is nothing better than The Vanguard. We invite your co-operation; in the work we are seeking; to do. Get up a club and help spread the light.

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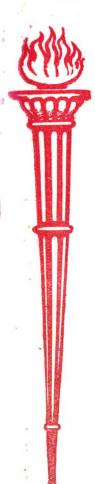
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THE VANGUARD **APRIL**, 1904



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The VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray, Yet newer strength we borrow, And where the vanguard camps today, The rear shall rest tomorrow.

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., APRIL, 1904.

NO. 8

You find willing slaves and hypocrites in every organization. They it is who make hell on earth a reality. Oh, you who wish to help bring peace on earth, dare to think for vourselves; then do your duty by word and deed; show the poor people that the way to real freedom lies in having a will of their own and making good use of it. When the truth is taught to the young, poverty and all hell conditions will be done away with, and heaven will be found right here. False teaching is what keeps us in hell here, and no one knows where such teaching will land us. -James Russell Lonell.

growth Socialism." of the question: What is to be done?" "No man liveth unto himself." admission! Utopian dream, but that you are up Socialism is coming.

"Aid the dawning, tongue and pen; gion, which is love. Aid it, hopes of honest men; Aid it, paper-aid it, type--Aid it, for the hour is ripe."

sound economic basis, but it is also tractors. an ethical movement. Socialism is total population of over 3,500,000 infundamentally a demand for justice, habitants there are just 19,000 real economic justice, and justice is essen- estate owners, or 8,000 less than eight tially moral; it is the very soul of years ago. That means that the promorality. Furthermore, Socialism, perty-owning class of New York is the strictly scientific and in accord somewhere about one half of 1 per with evolution, is also profoundly cent of the total population. spiritual in its character and trend. Owns the United States? Under this For as the full import of evolution is title a writer in the World's Work grasped we are learning that spiritual makes the startling announcement facts and forces are as much the pro- that "one twelfth of the estimated duct of evolution as material deve- wealth of the United States is relopments are. As Herbert Spencer presented has pointed out so clearly, there is board of

"When one observes the rapid love." The bare and unmoral strugsays the gle for existence so marked in the Catholic Tribune, "and the gradual lower animal world comes to an end decomposition of the old parties under with man in virtue of his reason and the fire of effective argument of So- moral sense. John Fiske calls the elimcialism against the existing system ination of purely selfish strife "a fact of political economy, the situation of unparalleled grandeur." Altruism urges upon every intelligent citizen is the law of human life and welfare. Thank you for your cardid Socialism simply demands that indus-Just beginning to find try be organized "in accordance with out that Socialism is not a mere the nature of things and our growing knowledge of it." It is thus in agreeagainst the "real thing," eh? Yes! ment with the great word of science, which is law, and the sum of all reli-

A list of real estate owners in Greater New York has been recently The Socialist movement rests on a compiled by Haas and Isador, con-It shows that out of a at the meeting of the directors of the such a thing as "the evolution of States Steel Corporation when they

are all present. porations whose capitalizations ag- terest. gregate more than nine billions; an amount, (if their capitalizations are behind it the constant and steady real values) equal to the combined public debts of Great Britain, France and United States. Socialism will stop this "dividing up" process.

THE WORKING **CLASS BASIS**

Socialism is essentially a working class movement. There are a number of reasons for this and chief of all because it is the interests of the workers that are involved. Other motives besides that of economic interest may, of course, actuate individuals in all classes; but as a rule, and taking classes as a whole, it is the economic interests that determine the direction of class movements. So long as one class enjoys, thru ownership of the means of production and distribution. privilege of living off the labor of another class, -so long that class, as a class will feel that Socialism would be opposed to their interests. As a class, therefore, they will oppose it.

Again, the class, who, as a class, are not yet convinced that there is no hope of success in life for them in the lines of petty capitalism, i. e., thru the ownership and operation of small stores, shops, and industries,these also will naturally oppose So-At least they will be uncialism. certain. However, when an individual of this middle class is crushed out by the combined forces of capitalism, or when by reason of observation and reflection he sees his inevitable doom as a small owner, he may then join the working class in their struggle. But until this economic experience or the consciousness of its inevitability comes to him the middle class man lacks the steadying in-

They control cor- fluence of the force of economic in-

It is the laboring class that has pressure of economic interest driving them in the direction of Socialism. And of all forces that influence human action it is now quite generally conceded that the most universal, far reaching and powerful is that of economic concern. It underlies and accompanies all others. Sometimes others may appear prominent, or may be so emphasized as to obscure the economic, but it certain to be involved. This being the case, there is one class, and that constituting the great majority of human society, upon whom is acting constantly the supreme force drawing them and driving them to Socialism. This is the working class. And for these reasons they form naturally and logically the basis of the Socialist movement.

However, we need not be too rigid or narrow in our definition of this class. It includes, as Liebknecht says, "all who do not live off the labor of others." It excludes only those who "live of ownership", by reason Simons points out. And this would include much more than the distinctly wage-earners. It would include also the professional class, for example, the school teachers. And organized labor is beginning to realize this larger inclusion of the term. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor has recently issued an appeal, "To the Public School Teachers of the State of Wisconsin," in which they submit a very clear argument to show that, "if the public school teachers of the state desire to better their economic condition, thru legislation or otherwise, they must make common cause with those whose interests lie parallel to their own,—
the wageworkers."

With this understanding of the Digitized by GOOGLE

term "working-class" it is quite clear cents. The individual or partnership not only numbers but intellectual average of 87 cents. enment and progress." But they will hunger and cold. Let him or gram in order to make it serve or save of 93 cents a day." their class. And the workers will certainly modification should they ask it.

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Socialism must ever stand upon this working-class basis,-viz: that the least and the lowest creature that toils shall have absolute justice, that every one shall be protected as a worker, that the element of living in idleness by reason of ownership of what some one else must use shall be eliminated. Under Socialism shall be workers. They shall perform some kind of useful service and as none will be permitted to live off the a labor of others, every worker will have the full products of his toil. Thus justice will be done to all classes and full compensation made. This proga ram of the working class we hail with joy, and to it the noblest and the best of every class will give their hearts and hands.

judge thee thou wicked capitalism. for capitalism is an octopus that What could more completely exhibit reaches out and lays hold on human the vileness of the present system life everywhere. But Socialism is than the following from that blatant an international movement that will champion of monopoly and greed, the one day destroy this devilish monster. New York Sun. In a recent issue it Since the above was written the legsays: "The official labor statistics of islature of Iowa, by a vote of 55 to 35, Indiana have just been issued and has voted down a bill to they show the average daily wage child labor in the factories of that , paid by the corporations to skilled state. "Workers of the world unite. labor to be \$2.43; unskilled, \$1.33; You have nothing to lose but your boys, 71 cents; women and girls, 93 chains; you have a world to gain."

that within its ranks may be found, industries pay girls and women an and moral resource quite sufficient for wage must be left to the imagination. the mighty task which the workers of And yet the vast majority of these the world have undertaken in Social- women are as respectable as those ism. There will be individuals from the robed in purple and fine linen. There other classes who will join and aid us must be an awful accounting some day supplying "fresh elements of enlight- of those who reward virtue with rags, not, if they understand the case, ask who is tempted to cast a stone at any modification of the Socialist pro- fallen women think of that average

> "Look at the signs on the Rochester facnot consent to such a tories, 'Small boys, small girls, wanted,'' said Mrs. Mabel Kennon, when speaking before the Rochester Labor Lyceum. "A Rochester inspector says he can find work for 150 little boys and 150 little girls every day, at times when it is hard to find work for one man, As long as child labor conday, at times when it is hard to find work for one man. As long as child labor continues every intelligent wage-worker will refuse to be the parent of a large family. A factory worker's wife said to me recently: 'If we had children they would have to go to work in the factory very likely. We working people offer up our children to commerce just as surely as the mothers of India sacrificed their children to the heathen gods.'"

But what does capitalism care so long as dividends are paid? The climax of the shameless hypocrisy of our so-called "Christian civilization" is reached, however, when these same dividends, wrung from the sweat and blood of the child-slaves of America, are used to support an official Christianity which, while condoning the accursed system that robs the American home, sends representatives to teach the mothers of India kind to their little ones—mayhap they in turn will fall a prey to greed for "Out of thine own mouth do we gold instead of religious superstition,

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WAR: ITS CAUSE AND CURE

By PROF. THOS. E. WILL



WO thousand years have passed since "Peace on earth, good will toward men" was proclaimed; yet never were the armaments so vast or the war budgets so crushing, and the Christian nations are of all the most warlike. Why is this?

War is two-fold: Industrial and military.

Military war is fought with bullets, bayonets and battleships. Industrial war is fought with strikes and lockouts, with boycotts and injunctions, with stocks and bonds and rebates.

Homestead and Hazelton, Cripple Creek and Telluride illustrate labor war. The battle of giants over the Penn-

sylvania and Northern Pacific railways illustrates capitalistic war. Why the fight?

In industrial war the reason is plain. The bone of contention is money Laborers want more wages; capitalists want more profits. Railroads and factories are fought for as a means of winning wealth.

Have you thought that military war has the same root cause as industrial war? What was the cause of the Boer war? Cecil Rhodes wanted the Cape to Cairo railroad and the opportunity to exploit Central Africa. He needed money. The money lay in South Africa in the gold fields and diamond mines. The Boers, were in the way. The British government was invoked to push them aside. Hence the war.

Why the Cuban insurrection and the Spanish-American war? Selig man, in his "Economic Interpretation of History," (page 86), says, "It is no longer open to doubt that the Cuban insurrection, and thus indirectly the Spanish-American war, was the outcome of the sugar situation." From this came the Phillippine war. Why? Senator Beveridge told us in his senate speech scattered broadcast under the caption, "Under God." That which was "under God" was the almighty dollar. There was money in the Phillippines. "Duty and destiny" demanded that we seize them.

Then the Panama coup, which would mean war were not we so large and Columbia so small. The New York World's recent expose, with names, dates, facts and figures, shows that back of that was a syndicate which had purchased the shares of the old Panama canal company and sought to unload them at enormous profit. All the other steps in the subsequent proceedings were a part of the program of the syndicate.

Next, the far eastern war. The "bone" is Corea. Russia seeks an outlet. Baffled at the Bosphorus and Afghanistan, she has sought the Pacific. Vladivostock is frozen much of the year. Corea would be an ideal outlet, and base against China, Why does Russia want an outlet? That she may sell her goods.

But Japan is interested in Corea, too. She desires to work off there her surplus population and surplus goods; hence the clash.

But the surplus? Senator Depew explained it at the Philadelphia convention in 1900. He said "What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at gates in Pekin? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why this parade of people

from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus production of civilized countries of modern times is greater than civilization can consume. It is because this over production goes back to stagnation and to poverty. The American people produce \$2,000,000,000 worth more than we can consume; and we have met the emergency and, by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates; we have our market in Porto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 people with the Pacific as an American lake."

Senator Hanna said, in his speech in the senate, Dec. 13, 1900: "The production in the United States is one third larger than our consumption."

Why have we surplus products? The census statistics of wealth distribution show that 9 per cent of the families of the United State own 29 per cent of the wealth, while 52 per cent own only 5 per cent. We produce for buyers. The rich buy what they want, and stop. Then production, profits and wages must stop unless other markets can be found. These we seek at the point of the bayonet and the muzzle of the gatling gun. Military war is a fight for the dollar.

The cure? Remove the cause. Transfer our industries from private to public ownership and control. Produce not for profit but for use. What then? Labor wars will cease, for the workers will control the products. Capitalistic wars will cease for the same reason that feudal wars ceased in the early modern period. Feudal lords were deprived of their private armies. When the Rockefellers, Morgans, Goulds, Cassatts and Carnegies are deprived of the means of warfare, the industries and their armies of wage earners and Pinkertons, they, too, will cease warring.

When we produce for use rather than for profit we will have no 'surplus." Our producers will be our consumers. Hence we will not need to conquer foreign markets and fight for "outlets." Thus international wars will end and we will realize the poet's dream:

"When the war drum throbs no longer, And the battle flags are furled, In the Parliament of Man, The Federation of the World."

THE STRENGTH OF SOCIALISM

By C. E. ORDWAY



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HE virtue, strength and beneficence of a person, an institution a reform movement is often best expressed by the enemies it has. This is eminently true of Socialism. It has received the compliment of being maligned and attacked and ignored just as Christianity, the abolition of slavery, the evolution and all other doctrine of great movements fields for human betterment the of science. in industry. economics and politics were when religion. were first introduced and espoused. tent to which Socialism has been and is still misunderstood. misrepresented and perverted by its opponents is strong

evidence of its fundamental soundness, its inherent importance, its growing power While on the other hand the weakness of its antagonists has been shown to the best possible advantage by their trumped up charges

and feeble arguments both for their own position and against that of Socialism. In the political field this is particularly the case, especially in the strongholds of the party. The injunction of the lawyer, "no case yourself, abuse your opponent" has been followed by the other political parties with surprising exactness and to the full limit, and also by the recreant and renegade of the Socialist school as well. But in every instance this method of procedure has resulted in a boomerang and Socialism has stood forth after each attack more sturdy, modest and powerful. This is because of its fundamental nature, that is, its foundation in the bed-rock principles of real civilization, and the indestructibility of its spirit which is that of justice, righteousness and truth among humanity.

Socialism in its spirit is as one has well said "the struggle for a righteous social system against a blind acquiescence in things as they are, the intelligent, keen spirit of social reconstruction against the respectability and conservatism of all existing privileges." This spirit of the larger humanity and the truer civilization, they that be against it cannot crush. Capitalism is powerful, but it is sordid and material, and cannot cope successfully, in the long struggle, with Socialism, which is ethical and spiritual representing as it does, in the struggle for economic equity and industrial emancipation, the higher forces in the evolution of the race and of the social order. This spirit flows from the great heart of the people and is the expression of the smoothered sense of brotherhood and the nobility of work and represents this struggle of the Proletariat and; of justice and equality and human liberty, political and indutrial, toward the light, and the realization of the full-orbed day of human happiness and achievement, the Co-operative Commonwealth, and the united family of man.

What Hinders Socialism?

Judge W. E. Richardson, of Spokane, says:

Nine out of every ten men outside of the insane asylums would be Socialists today or in less than a year if it were not for prejudice. There is something for Socialists to learn from this fact. You may be a simon pure, class conscious, revolutionary scientific Socialist from now to the day of your death, but until you learn how to disarm and overcome the prejudice against Socialism that now exists in the minds of the majority of people, you cannot be a successful worker in this cause. Tact, sympathy, common sense, forbearance, patience. courtesy—these are as necessary as scientific knowledge.

All Socialist workers should ponder this well.

To meet the situation is the special mission of THE VAN-GUARD.

There is nothing like it to break down prejudice and start people thinking.

It is making many converts to the cause.

IF YOU WANT TO MAKE SOCIALISTS SOW THE COUNTRY WITH VANGUARDS

THE SUPREME ISSUE

BY FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH



E have been so persistently schooled in the idea that the progress of the world and the development of human character depends upon the strife of every managainst his fellow, that we have never paused long enough to reflect that man may be something more than an animal, and that it might be possible for him to respond to a higher ethic.

Now, when we question ourselves as individuals, we find there is naturally no hatred in our hearts against our fellows. Man is not made for hatred, he is made for love. His natural state is not love of warfare, but of comradeship. When he questions his own heart and conscience the idea.

that character can be built by conflict is abhorrent to him. When he sees that in the world there is enough and to spare for all, a vision comes to him of a comrade world and his heart throbs with a noble passion to express the brightest and best that now lies dormant in his nature. But as he looks out upon human society, he finds it so organized that the expression of brotherhood is impossible. He may live and die if he will, but if he must live he must fight.

I cannot be a brother to the man who owns my bread. The very fact 'of such relationship forbids it. Love takes flight at any possibility of coercion.

Now, it is obvious that a few can never enslave a million and make them carry by physical imposition. The chain by which the masses have been bound is is not wrist or ankle, but about the character of the mind. It is their ignorance.

For twenty-five years the Congress of the United States has not dealt with a single great principle affecting the welfare of the producing classes of this country. Its halls have merely been the arena in which strong private interests have contended for supremacy, ignoring the working classes altogther. Hat in hand and on bended knee the representatives of organized labor have had to lobby for the barest recognition, when a single manifestation of the collective will at the ballot box would have swept the matters out of political life. Congress is to-day engaged in discussing tariff, penisons and how to abolish trusts without hurting them.

I refuse to admit the saying that the world is less barbarous than under conditions of savagery. Among savages little children starve only when there is a famine, but here in America they starve because there has been too much produced.

Who that has eyes to see will not discover that the prating of equality and the cry that there are no classes in free America springs from the desire to conceal from the common life the truth that there is no equality and that classes do exist?

No life can be sacred until all life is sacred. To degrade a single man in all the world is to keep all the world in the dark.

It is grossly insolent to say to a working man that he is getting higher wages than he received last year. It is unnspeakable impudence to say to the man whose children need bread that civilization has given him a

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public library.

It is not a question of the workers being better off than they were last year, or the year before, it is a question of getting what they earn. If they are getting a single penny less than the entire product of their labor, they are being robbed and society will some day answer for it. But in a country where the laws are made by the ballot, they cannot be robbed except by their silent or implied consent.

No large body of men have ever yet seen the real evil or the real remedy of prevailing social conditions of to-day. But now the development of the capitalist system itself is operating to eliminate the middle class as a confusing factor.

Socialism has neither originated nor precipitated the class struggle. It has merely called attention to what already exists, with the hope that by understanding it it may some day be ended forever. Nor does it inspire Socialists' hearts toward their enemies. The success of the Socialist movement demands that the two classes shall be kept clearly defined. It is only by keeping the capital class free from its historic disguise and refusing to be influenced by its standard of morals, education and judgment, that the working class can ever make headway toward its peaceful overthrow. It must regard every attempt at reform, however well meant, as menacing to its success, if such a reform in any way confuses the issue or diverts attention from the fundamental social wrong, ownership of the common sources of life by a few.

Stupified by their long period of moral density the working men cannot readily comprehend that in demanding the full product of their labor the working class is not violating any right, but is simply assuming its own. Instead of the much discussed dividing up, which the capitalist class seems to fear from Socialism, the proposal of the working class is to stop it. They have been dividing up the privileges of idleness too long.

The capitalists of to-day are endeavoring to quell the Socialist movement by giving away presents to their employes, increasing salaries, offering stock and placing old age penisons as a reward for diligent and faithful labor, covering a period of a stated number of years.

Every industry of the United States of sufficient magnitude for consideration is to-day on a basis of succidal inflation. Millions of fictitious stock have been issued. The interest charges made upon the American people exceed the amount of surplus resources of the entire Nation. The obligation laid by capitalists upon the American working class cannot be paid in a thousand years of constant toil. Sooner or later the hour of liquidation must come. A crash that will shatter the worlds's financial system is inevitable,

But the thing of the greatest importance to the Socialist movement is not that this crash is inevitable, but that it may at any time be deliberately precipitated by the will of a few men. If the capitalist should will to do so it could throw the American government into the hands of a receiver to-morrow.

Now, if all the resources at present employed to sidetrack or confuse the Socialist movement should fail: if in spite of all the wire pulling in the dark, the lieutenants of capitalism should make up their minds that the case is becoming desperate and nothing except desperate expedients

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at last could save them, they would precipitate this crisis in an instant, to destroy the Socialist movement before it is ready to meet it.

Here is the capitalists' resource above all others which the Socialist has more to fear.

The world waits for the collective will of the common people. Through long centuries it has waited for a movement of the people that should at last lift the race above class, state and Nation. It should include in comradeship the lowest man upon the earth, which should reach out to all the world. Such a life we must build if the world is raised out of its present savagery.

THE SLAVE OF IGNORANCE.

Once, as in dreamy mood I strayed
Along a splendid hall of art,
I saw one picture on the wall
That burned its import on my heart;
That fixed its meaning in my soul,
And stamped its impress on my mind;
For in that picture I beheld
The toiling millions bound and blind.

The canvas held the burly form
Of Hebrew Samson at the mill,
Docile and ox-like trudging round
Obedient to a masters will.
His captors mock him at his toil,
And jeer his eyeballs dulled and seared:
Oh, where has fled the dauntless pride—
The god-like strength that made him feared?

Oh Samson! thou art but a type
Of Labor, thru the weary years
Treading the ceaseless round of toil,
In want and unavailing tears;
Thy masters mock thee, and despise
Thy patient strength on which they feed;
Thy feeble protests they ignore
In haughty overmastering greed.

Slave of the mills of Privilege,
Scourged on by Poverty and Dread,
The selfishness of ages weights
The crown of thorns upon thy head;
The greed of all the years has bound
The fear of want about thy brow;
A serf thou wert in ages past,
Wealth owned thee then—it owns thee now!

Oh slave, by Ignorance enthralled,
Uplift thy visage to the light!
The sun of Reason shines for all,
Look up--its beams will give thee sight!
Thou hast the power to shape the world,
To make it what thou'dst have it be,
There is no need of other power
Than thine own Will to make thee free.

-ROBERT T. W HITELAW

INCENTIVE TO INDIVIDUAL EFFORT UNDER SOCIALISM

By A. L. BENSON, Editorial Writer of the Detroit Times

An address delivered Sunday, Dec. 27, 1903, before the Men's Class of St. Joseph's Memorial Church, Detroit.



HE question of what incentive there would beto individual effort under a Socialist form of government, which holds all forms of useful labor equally valuable to society, has long been a favorite objection with those who are profiting greatly from capitalist government, as it has always been a stum-

bling-block to those just entering upon the study of the Socialist philosophy. All things being great or small, either by comparison with each other, or with some other thing, perhaps I can best impress upon you my belief that Socialism would present a greater incentive to human endeavor than ever existed by comparing the incentive to work that would be given by Socialism to the incentive to put forth useful effort that exists under capitalism. And in doing so, I should like to be permitted to quote some figures contained in Bulletin No. 49, issued in November, 1903, by the Bureau of Labor at Washington, which can be obtained without charge by any one desiring it, upon request to the Department of Commerce and Labor.

This report covering the period from 1890 to 1903, was based upon reports from 2,567 workingmen's families, distributed among all sections of the country, none of the heads of which were in receipt of an income of more than \$1,200 a year. The average number of persons in a family being a fraction over five, and there being in each case two or more wageearners, the report shows that the average annual income of such families was \$827. The purpose of the report being to ascertain the cost of living, as compared with wages re-

\$55 less than the amount of wages re-

ceived by each. Now let use see what incentive to life-long toil is held out by these figures to the average American family, and in this connection. the fact should be considered that the families referred to in this report of the Bureau of Labor are in reality more fortunately circumstanced than the majority of families with one wageearner, who according to the census reports of 1900, is in receipt of only \$437 a year for his toil. Suppose that a man were to become a wage-earner at the age of 21 years and work steadily until he reached the age of 50 without any sickness in his family, or any enforced idleness. With an excess of receipts over necessary expenditures of \$55 a year, it is apparent that he would have, at the age of 50, as the result of 29 years of unremitting toil, the magnificent sum of \$1,595. Nor are these figures, based as they are on the experiences of a few widely scattered families, misleading when applied to all families. For the same census figures issued .by our government in 1900, show that 69. per cent of the population do not own their own homes. And I assume that the instinct to own one's own home, which is so strong in the American character, would cause every man to hold the title to the roof over his own head if he were financially able to do

Now what would be the incentive to work under Socialism? Let the figures issued by our own capitalist government tell you. We will say that the average cost of living would be just the same under Socialism that it is under capitalism—\$768 a year. The average man, inspired by no hope that he will be able to save more than \$1,595 in 29 years, nevertheless produces \$2,450 of value each year, so our census reports tell us. Socialism, ceived, the interesting fact is given by destroying the wastes of competithat the average annual cost of the tion and eliminating the profits of necessaries of life for each of the private ownership, would give each families enumerated was just \$768, or worker his entire product, thus ena-

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bling him to save NOT \$55 A YEAR, ury in his old age, when the cold facts BUT \$1,682 A YEAR, AND IN 29 are that he will be given only 31 YEARS, INSTEAD OF SAVING chances in 100 even to own the hum-YEARS, INSTEAD OF SAVING ONLY \$1,595, HE WOULD SAVE \$48,778!

'Do you think the average man would cousider that his incentive to work had been materially decreased if he were assured that living and working as he does now, he could save \$48,778 in the years between 21 and 50, instead of a beggarly \$1,595, which he now has if he never spends a cent for enjoyment or has any bad luck?

But perhaps you are saying that nobody wants to be an average man a —mediocre man, if you please, that every man of bounding blood and throbbing brain considers himself an exception to the general run of hu-man beings who needs only the op-portunities presented by capitalism to develop him to the uttermost. Ah, that is the will-o-the-wisp that has been dangled before the eyes of humanity since the dawning of the first day of capitalism. It is like the delusive hope that Napoleon thundered to his legions when he sent them flying over the Alps and into the Italian peninsula with his word for it that "In every soldier's knapsack is the baton of a marshal," if he would but bare his breast to the foes of France and fight hard enough. And today, our own "capitains of industry" are urging us on in the same way to the greatest possible productivity: "Work hard for a fifth of your pro-Mr. Schwab, Mr. Morgan or somemanaged to secure a fortune. leon DID make a score or so of marhim up to high-tension

chances in 100 even to own the humblest sort of a home? Yet knowing these facts, men DO find an incentive to work under capitalism.

The fate of the average man, under capitalism, to lifelong toil for a pittance in excess of the actual cost of living having been pretty well established, not only by the figures I have quoted you, but by what must have been the observations of each of you, it seems to me that the only question for solution, in connection with the discussion of this subject of "Incentive," is whether government should exist for the purpose of promising the welfare of the average man or the exceptional man. I take it that all governments are established, in theory at least, for the purpose of securing the greatest happiness for the greatest number. And to me, it would seem especially appropriate that a government like ours that is ruled by majorities, should seek by every available means, to conserve and promote the welfare of the majority, which, as our census and labor bureau reports show, is overwhemingly composed of average men-men who are given each year in the form of wages only \$55 more than it costs to live,

The average man-the weakling if you please -- surely needs the aid of his government to obtain for him common justice more than does the duct; work long and never say die and brilliant man to secure the utmost you may become a millionaire' like products of his brilliancy. No one, I take it, would seriously contend that body else who started in poor and our government should be maintained But for the primary purpose of promotthe results of our pitiful attempts to ing the welfare of the "exceptional" emulate these wortny gentlemen gentlemen like Mr. Rockeflier, who make Napoleon's shadowy promise to constitute but 5,000 of our 76,000,000 his men seem very real; since Napo- of population. Nor does it seems to me that the exceptional man should shals out of his 100,000 soldiers, while be very much downcast at his outcapitalism has made only 5,000 million- look when he considers the fact that aires and mult-milliouaires out of if, under Socialism, he were to re-76,000,000 of people. Doesn't it strike ceive for his labor only what the comyou that there is something excesmonest ditch-digger would receive, sively cruel about a system of indushe would nevertheless be in receipt, try that holds out such magnificent of an income that would enable him possibilities and such miserable real- to retire at the age of 50, with a bank ities: about system that takes the account of \$48,778, provided he were bey from his mother's side and nerves willing to live as the average Amertoil by ican now lives. But if this prospect the hope that industry and frugality should dishearten the exceptional may give him plenty, aye, even lux- man, I can only say that in my opinion, it would be better that he be dis- men where their rights end and those

or their product.

If we assume that the "exceptional" man—the man who is now conspicuous principally because of his ability to appropriate the products of others-WOULD become discouraged that to that extent Socialism might diminish the incentive to individual activity of a few of the exceptional men that are now prominent in finance and industry. But I cannot admit that the prospect of having \$48,778, instead of \$1,595, over and above living expenses, as the result of 29 years' labor, would deprive the average man of the desire to do at least as much as he does now.

If it would, perhaps we could increase the present incentive to labor by decreasing wages and increasing the cost of living still more. If a part of one's product is more desirable to the producer than the whole of it, why not spur the worker on to greater efforts still by giving him only onetenth of the value he creates instead of one fifth of it? Such a program would certainly not meet the opposition in certain quarters that has been engendered by the Socialist plan to give the worker ALL he produces, with nothing left for the idler, be he

rich or poor.

heartened than that the average of others begin is therefore the most men, who compose 95 per cent of the important work that Socialists have population, should continue to be to do. For civilization has advnac-compelled to work for a wage that ed just in proportion to the extent represents only one fifth of the value that men have learned to be just to one another. Individually, longer share the belief of our early ancestors that might make right, but we nevertheless do some very strange things. We take interest and rent without any apparent realization of uuder such conditions, I must admit the fact that capital, in itself, never produced anything and that these additions to our wealth therefore came effort. It seems to me, however, that from the unrequited sweat of labor. I have heard some who are not So- And we take profit with as little concialists express the desire that some- cern as if it were not economically thing be done to curb the incentive to as bad to accept more than cost for an article as it is to "raise" a \$1 bill to \$2. The fact that a bread famine makes thousands of persons wilting to pay \$10 a barrel for flour that is ordinarily sold for \$5 a barrel affords no moral justification for charging the higher price. Yet all profit—that is, the excess of price over cost—is based upon nothing but increased demand and is therefore an economic crime. Mind you, I am not blaming individuals for taking interest rent and profits, I am only criticising the system under which injustice is done, believing as I do that the average man need only to know what is right to do it. Certainly conditions would be incomparably worse than they are if the desire of the majority were not to do as nearly right as they know how.

When men learn the simple truth enun cated by Ernest Crosby, that when one man "gets something that he didn't produce, it inevitably fol-In conclusion, I may say that I lows that another man produced somethink the fear that Socialism would thing that he didn't get;" and that lessen the incentive to individual he who would amass wealth in excess effort will largely disappear when the of his legitimate needs is as foolish as world gets a little better understand- would be the man who would covet ing of "what is mine and what is the ocean because he was thirsty, I thine" and sees the folly of wrecking take it that there will be little to desbody, brain and soul in the pursuit of troy the incentive of the individual wealth that is not needed. I believe to work in a system that merely conthat the great majority of men want templates exact justice for all with only what belongs to them. To teach its inevitable result of plenty for all.

BOOM THE VANGUARD

"THE VANGUARD will catch and stick where other Socialist papers will not," writes one comrade. If you want to help the cause boom THE VAN-GUARD's circulation. Four subscriptions for one dollar. Get up a club at once. Send in as many names as you can at 25 cents each.



WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT. Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M, Chicago.

Let's Talk About It

S. E. A., W. B. and others have requested me to state my attitude as regards the Socialist party and various shades of Socialists. I have decided to meet this squarely and as that uses up space, I must omit other inquiries this month. I wish it understood that I speak for myself alone and not for those who may work with me.

First then, let me say that I regard economic system our present Hades, but I do not believe in eternal damnation, nor have I forgotten the old Hindoo assurance: "Just to thy wish, the door of Heaven is found open before thee through this glorious unsought fight which only fortune's favored soldiers may obtain.'

Because of our interdependence, none of us can obtain an earthly paradise until all have it, so it behooves us to work together. I, for one, am willing to work with all those whose efforts are expended for this purpose just as far as we can work harmoniously, and when we reach that place where our methods are utterly apart I still say to each and all: Good tortune attend you in your path, and may you and I accomplish much in intellectual the ways best suited to our natures.

This being true, I watch with interest the methods of Industrial Socialists, Christian Socialists, Agnos- own diet. tic Socialists, and any and all other

sun will rise tomorrow; but I think of a wideopen admittance of those

two methods by which it may be ushered in. I deem it within the realms of possibility that the new system might come to us when we were only bigoted liberals, and that this would be only a chance of tyranny. I feel that it may come through bloodshed. It appeals to me as true that education is the only safeguard against these two evils, for which reason I welcome the spread of Truth in any and all channels which open or can be opened. This it is which makes me a "liberal" (as one comrade states) in all that affects the work among women and children. I want them to see the truth. If they can most master it ly having it made amusing, so be it If they must see the world's pain and search for truth in an effort to relieve it, well and good. If they are so self-centered that a personal appeal must be made, make that. If you can only reach the head by working through the heart, take that route; and if the path leads through the stomach. take advantage of that. THEM UP. After you accomplish that Herculean task, give them strong scientific food; but do not hecome discouraged when you find that labes can not digest meat. Try milk instead. If it is pure and wholesome, it will belp them thrive and prepare them for your

As I believe the revolution must Socialists. I believe that all have a come by the ballot if it is to work for work to do, that many are doing a good, I am an ardent political Socialwork for which nature has not fitted ist of course; and no one had cause me, and that the fact of their exist o doubt my loyalty to the party ortence proves their need. For that ganization, in which (as the comrade which counts for the ultimate good in above referred to states) I am a "conthem, I am thankful. Toward that servative." But he is mistaken in which seems to me a waste of effort, thinking that my attitude as regards I am charitable—knowing that not the purely educational work con-one of us has yet grasped all of tradicts this. The make-up of the Truth, but each must work with that political organization may yet be a portion in his keeping. question of life and death, since it 1 believe a Co-operative Common- may be the buffer which will avert wealth as sure to come as that the war. This being true. I disapprove there are two possible results and who are only sentimentally in sym-

pathy with us and who have no know- for harm to the woman's movement most disrupt a Local which had been doing good work. The party is a political army, organized for the peaceit should be guarded against those self-seekers who bring into it the trickery of politicians. That is the

secret of my conservatism.

But the woman's movement, being not. merely educational, could only be temporarily sidetracked by any overcharge of emotionalism and the good by association more than counterbalances this possibility. So I gladly hail as a comrade any woman who realizes the need of a new order of society based upon Justice instead of strife. I willingly work with her wherever we can be mutually helpful in the W. N. S. U. and out-frankly discuss with her those points which we see from differing standpoints, and grant her right to her opinions as I to mine. Because one is a Trinitarian, another a Unitarian, and a third a Pantheist is reason no should why we not work together in all which shortens the distance to the common goal. So I see both without unecessary lay-over exnothing but good in the formation of women's clubs for economic study whether the line be ethical, scientific, or industrial. Each earnest seeker will discover something of good: something which can be shared with all others and make all the richer.

Possibly because at different times in my life I have been forced to be class conscious on both sides of the economic fence, I believe in great freedom of thought and a recognition of the fact that there never was a question which had only one side. a Co-operative Commonwealth stands for anything in this world, it stands for human brotherhood. Let's begin to practice it a bit (just to get accustomed to it) and agree to disgree amicably on all points where we can not agree. Do let's ignore differences whenever they are side issues: and fight together to the last ditch for the vital matters.

of an answer to make to these queries; but I feel that the misunder-

ledge of the history, scientific as- and, as I am to be its president for pects, tactics and alms which actuate another year, it seemed unfair to the political movement I have seen shirk it. If I did not believe there an influx of this kind of members al- was need for more than one kind of work to this end, I should not spend my hours of "recreation" in labor of organizing women and edable capture of the government; and ucating children. When all children are born with adult brains, all women evolve to a knowledge that before they are women they are human souls, I shall take a rest. Until then, I can

> "If I knew you and you knew me-If both of us could clearly see And, with an inner sight, divinc The meaning of your heart and mine— I'm sure that we would differ less And clasp our hands in friendliness; Our thoughts would pleasantly agree If I knew you and you knew me."

SOCIALIST WOMEN, COME TO W. N. S. U. CONVENTION.

The last week in April or early in May, the W. N. S. U will convene in Chicago. At this writing the exact date has not been fixed, but it will be so related to the date of the political convention that women can attend

penses.

The chairwomen will be members of the W. N. S. U., but this is the only restriction. All Socialist women (without regard to membership in the Union) will be equally welcome to take part in all discussions. we hope onr brother comrades will feel free to attend, they cannot be given the floor except by vote of the This is not because of any ill-will toward menfolk, but because some of our women do not feel free to participate in debates in which men take part; and this is to be. primarily a woman's convention.

No routine business will receive attention in open session, which is to be educational in that it will give us an opportunity to exchange views and find out where we disagree, and why. . Business matters not of general interest can be transacted in executive. Those Sosession of the Natl. Com. cialist women who have disapproved This may seem a very personal sort of the Union are especially invited to attend and take part in discussions, Members of the Union are sufficiently standing as to my attitude may work liberal to permit all a frank expres-

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sion of opinion.

Among the topics proposed for discussion are: the need of separate organization of women; why such clubs should be united in a national organization; why such an organiza-tion can do better work when not affiliated with the political movement; whether such a union needs a president-a discussion in which the present president will take the negative, so none need fear personal illfeeling resulting from candor; best methods of interesting young people in rational economics; accounts of some odd methods which have been effectually used by women.

Those Unions and Members-atlarge who have pledged money to the organization fund are requested to communicate promptly with the Cor. Sec'y and Treas., stating whether they are willing that this money be applied to the expenses of this convention and paying it as soon as possible. It has seemed to the Natl. Com. that it would bring better results expended in this way than in

any other.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL

SOCIALIST UNION.

Members in those states not yet organized and which have no State Representative, should promptly send suggestions to the Pres. Members of the Natl. Com. are requested to send in their nominations for Supts of Depts at once, in order that the referendum may be taken and departmental work be placed in the hands of those who will have charge of it this year. W. S. A.

The Chats with Young Folk is crowded out this month but will begin again in the May issue and appear regularly thereafter.

Study Of Parliamentary Usages.

Women's clubs exist in every city, town, and village the country over, so women are getting a good deal of experience in conducting meetings of these various organizations and are everywhere becoming good parliamentarians.

Many women in small organizations dislike the business meetings and consider them tedious and stupid. The main reason is because they

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This book is without doubt the best explanation of modern Scientific Socialism to be had in any language. It is simple enough to be understood by any reader of ordinary intelligence, and it not only covers the ground ordinarily treated by the writers on Socialism, but also classifies and analyzes a mass of new facts showing how individual production is giving way to capitalist production and gives straightforward answers to the difficult questions of how the necessary capital is to be acquired and how wages are to be adjusted under a collectivist system. The various objections to Socialism, new and old, various objections to Socialism, new and old. are answered in a way that is simply crushing. ing. Cloth Suc.
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know so little of parliamentary law that they take little part in transaction of business. 'It is on account of this ignorance that it "drags its slow length along" and becomes uninteresting and wearisome. change this and make the business meeting lively animated and full of interest, every member should well grounded in parliamentary u. and feel a personal responsibility ... taking an active part in the transactions. You will always find a wideawake and enthusiastic organization where the business is dispatched with promptness and in an orderly, parliamentary manner.

It is not an onerous task to accomplish these results. If every Union would devote ten minutes of each meeting to methodical systematic study of parliamentary usage, and the chairman enforce the rules as learned; in short time these would be model organizattons and the business hour would be as much enjoyed as the titerary program. We always enjoy what we do well, while slovenly methods in any work, even in conducting our meetings, reacts unpleasantly and unprofitably upon the mind.

In the study of parliamentary usage, I would advise going slowly. One step at a time and much drill in each step before taking another, is the only real road to perfect mastery.

I would be pleased to hear from the various Unions throughout the country as to their efforts and advancement in this department, and if I can be of service I shall be glad.

Mary E. Garbutt, Supt., Parliamentry Law, W. N. S. U., Los Angeles, California.

"Paid," an Afro-American sym-pothizer, is a bright little booklet published monthly by Nora E. H. Siegel, Box 740, Los Angeles, Cal. 25 cents a year. 5 cents a copy. Taking cents a year. 5 cents a copy Taking for her text the words, "God draws no creed nor color line; all things are His, in Him,—Divine," the editor, profits against the continued use of the terms "master and slave" and advocate Socialism as the solution of the negro question.

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Frances E. Willard ON SOCIALISM

n...ook about you, the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands.

But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept [so steady \(\) at work

that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a Socialist is just here.

I would take, not by force but by the slow process of lawful acquisition, through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the corporation of humanity should control all 'production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow and fatness of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY exists for the sole purpose of abolishing the "cruel injustice" spoken of by Miss Willard. It demands that the workers shall receive the full product of their labor—their private property. It aims to extend and secure personal rights. It will put a stop to "confiscation" by ending the system which now compels the masses of the people to "divide up" their carnings until the nation's wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few. It will save the home by securing each worker an income sufficient to maintain a family in comfort and send his children to school instead of the factory. It will abolish "graft," child labor and prostitution—the direct results of capitalism. If you want simple justice, industrial peace and a higher civilization, VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET.

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SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS



To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist American Socialist's haveformed the Socialist Party, now organized inall the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, ROOMS 303-304, McCague Bldg., Omaha, Nah.

National Convention, Chicago, May 1, 1904.

GAINS **ENORMOUS**

Milwaukee Socialist Vote 18.953--18 Socialists Elected

Old Party Politicians Baffled and Alarmed --Socialists Jubilant and Have Already Commenced Fall Campaign

A foretaste of the surprise in store for the country next fall is given in vers, scoured the town and took from the result of the municipal election their homes by force seventy-five where the Social Milwaukee supervisors, 2 justices, 2 constables until 2 a.m. when they were marched and polled 15,333 votes for Victor L. to the depot, loaded into the two Berger, candidate for mayor. The special coaches and deported to vote for Mr. Wilke, candidate of the Ouray, the capitalist mob firing a Socialist Labor party, 3,650, the bulk volley with their guns as the train of which was doubtless intended for departed. Mr. Berger, makes the total Socialist thus expelled was Comrade A. H vote 18,953, an increase in the vote of Floaten, president of the People's two years ago of 10,319. This result Supply Co., and a leading Socialist was achieved after the hottest cam-worker. As he was retiring, a little was achieved after the hottest campaig never known in Milwaukee where after 10 p. m., his house was broken the lines were tightly drawn and the into, issues clearly presented. The demo-crats carried the city. re-electing beaten repeatedly over the head by Mayor Rose by a vote of 23.515, Mr. his captors. Mr. Floaten is a peace-Goff the republican candidate polled loving law-abiding American citizen 17,603, the Socialists thus forging whose only offense is that of sympathahead to a second place in the poli-

tics of the city and securing the balance of power in the city council. the campaign proceeded and strength of the Socialists became evident, Mayor Rose ignored his republican opponent and directed his attention to what he termed the "danger that threatened the city" through the probable election of Mr. Berger. He declared his readiness to withdraw and support Mr. Goff, rather than allow Mr. Berger to win, thus virtually admitting the Socialists. claim that the interests of the two old parties are identical.

Commenting on the result the Milwaukee Sentinel (republican) says:

"The strength of the social democratic party, under the leadership of aggressive men, gave to the campaign elements of uncertainty, baffing alike to the politicians and to the voters generally. The enormous increase in the vote of the social democratic party indicates that a new element has come upon the field to assertively dispute the right of the democrats and repubicans to dominate the politics of the city of Milwaukee.

"Scarcely had the excitement attending the "scarcely had the excitement attending the election died away yesterday than the leaders of the social democratic party were making new plans to continue the political fight they had conducted with so much vigor during the last few months. The fall campaign ing the last few months. The fall campaign is to be launched at once, and predictions are will be made in the

made that big gains November election."

TELLURIDE

One of the most dastardly outrages ever perpetrated in America occured on the night of March 14, at Telluride, Colo., when one hunrded members of the Citizens' Alliance armed themselves with Winchesters and revolunion men and sympathizers. Democrats elected 10 aldermen, 4 men were herded in a vacant store Among those who were partly undressed,

[Continued on Page 26.]

MINNESOTA STATE NEWS

S. M. Holman, retiring state secretary, issued a letter to the Comrades of Minnesota from which we take the

following:

four organizers in the field after the middle of May until election; also the State Lecture Van. The State Executive Committe thinks this is not only possible, but absolutely necessary if Minnesota is to keep pace with other states in the great movement for the uplifting of humanity which is sweeping the country. Secretaries are therefore requested to bring this to the attention of every comrade of their respective locals, and every believer in Socialism in the state is asked to make contributions to the state fund. We ask all who can afford it. to make a regular monthly subscription from now until election.'

Three town elections were held in the state in the month of March resulting in a splendid showing for the At Wrenshall the entire Socause. cialist ticket was elected. At our ticket received 71 votes out of At Carlton 26 out of a total of 271. 112. The result at Ada is very gratifying, as the election occurred at a bad time of the year, most of the members of the local being away from town, in the lumber camps etc.

Carlton has developed into a splendid local. There was scarely a Socialist in that town until Comrade Klein organized them last December.

State organizer Klein's dates are as follows: Graceville, April 6: Barry, 7: Wheaten, 8: Fargo (N. D). 9-11; Moorhead. 12, 13: Hawley. 14: Rellog 15, 16, 17; Fergus Fall, 18, 19; Alexandria, 20, 21; Brooten, 22; Willmar, 23, 24.

Rev. Carl D. Thompson begins his Minnesota tour at Duluth, April 11. The Comrades of the State will be delighted to know that he is coming again. There is no abler exponent of Socialism on the platform today. Comrade Thompson's dates, so far as arranged, are: Duluth, April 11, 12, 13; Two Harbors, 14, 15; Wrenshall, 16: Scanlon, 17; Carlton, 18, 21; Grand Rapids, 19, 20.

Comrade George R. Kirkpatrick begins work in this state April 15. His dates thus far arranged are Albert Lea, April 15; Oakland, 16, 17; Austin, Minneapolis, Minn. March 31st. 1904.

18, 19; Spring Valley 20. Secretary J. J. Jacobsen, of Iowa, writes that Comrade Kirkpatrick has created more enthusiasm in that state than any speaker they ever had.

Many of the locals signify their in-"It is proposed to keep from two to tention of putting a local, county and congressional ticket in the field next fall. These counties are Polk, Norman, Crow Wing, Otter Tail, Ramsey, Hennepin. St. Louis, Lake, Mower, Rice, Aitken, Roseau and others.

> Comrade J. E. Nash, the new State Secretary, is working about 18 hours a day.

> There will be a hot time for capitalism all along the line in Minnesota this year.

> Secretaries of locals are requested to send a complete list of the members of their respective branches to THE VANGUARD.

To the Socialists of Minnesota:

I take great pleasure in recommending to the Comrades of this state the monthly magazine, called THE VANGUARD, published at Green Bay. Wis., by Comrade J. M. A. Spence.

This magazine occupies a unique position among the many splendid publications issued in the interest of the Socialist Party. deals largely with the ethical aspects of the philosophy of Socialism, a field not fully covered by any other Socialist publication.

While dealing with Socialism from the ethical view point, it nevertheless stands out bodly for scientific, clars-conscious Socialism, and the Socialist Party.

The Comrades of this state will be pleased to know that Comrade Carl D. Thompson has been secured as associate editor.

The magazine will also be of special intreest to the Comrades of this state as the editor has agreed to publish monthly the progress made in this state by the organization. This information will be of great value to all Minnesota Socialists, as they will become acquainted with the work that is going on in their own state. This fact alone should be a sufficient inducement for every Comrade to subscribe.

I would suggest that you send Comrade Spence any items of interest from your locality for publication

Any assistance you can render to increase the circulation of THE VANGUARD will, I believe, be a great aid to the Socialist Party in this state. Yours fraternally,

S. M. Holman.

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By Rev. William Thurston Brown. Shows how the Socialist movement embodies a that is vital in religion. "Real religion is something which finds a man, rather than something which he finds. It is the great, deep undercurrent which sets toward justice and truth and love, It is not the business of men to learn its creed. It is their business to respond to its compulsion."

Rational Prohibition

By Walter L. Young. An address before a meeting of temperance workers showing that it is impossible to suppress intemperance so long as people can make a profit out of selling liquor, and that the only rational prohibition is abolishing the profit system.

Woman and the Social Problem.

By May Wood Simons. Explains that the political and domestic subjection of women is due to their economic subjection to the men of the capitalist class, that political liberty alone would be of no real benefit to women, and that their complete emancipation can only be brought about through Socialism.

Socialism and the Home.

By May Walden Kerr. Tells how all the essentials of a happy home are destroyed by capitalism; how the economic dependence of women results in loveless marriages and equally degrading subjection outside marriage; how the one hope of woman's emancipation is in Socialism, and how women can help to hasten its coming.

Socialism vs. Affarchy.

By A. M. Simons Texplains the world-wide difference in aim and method between Socialism, which seeks through the united political action of the working class to transform government, and anarchism, which seeks through violence to abolish government.

The Man Under the Machine.

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Socialism and Farmers.

By A. M. Simons. Proves that the farmer, instead of being independent as he supposes himself, is in fact a piece-worker at the mercy of the capitalists who control the means of bringing his product into the form in which it can be consumed and to the place where it is needed at the time when it it is needed. The author shows the utility of money reform schemes and the real unity of interest between the farmer and the wage-worker.

Wage-Labor and Capital.

By Karl Marx. The great Socialist philosopher's theory stated in his own words This is not an abridgment or extract from "Capital." but a translation of an essay by Marx, in which the theory of surplus value is explained in as simple a way as the nature of the subject permits.

The Mission of the Working Class.

By Rev Charles H. Vail. A history of the growth of the Socialist movement. "Industrial democracy being in the line of evolution is certain of attainment. Democracy has already been obtained in politics and religion, and industry is passing through similar stages of development. The time has come for the manual and mental workers to unite and strike for liberty '

Socialism and Trade Unionism.

By Daniel Lynch, President of Union No. 11, Boston, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. With this is printed Trade Unions and Socialism, by Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen. This booklet explains the present friendly reations between the organized Socialists and the Trade Unions.

The Kingdom of God and Socialism.

By Rev. Robert M. Webster. Shows by a careful study of New Testament passages that in each case the term "Kingdom of God" points to a new social order such as the Social ist Party is endeavoring to establish. Effective for propaganda among religious people.

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THE VANGUARD IN THE LEAD

Thank you! Thank you! Comrades, for your many kind words concerning The Vanguard. Here are a few samples from scores of letters received during the past month from all parts of the country:

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"I could not possibly get along without The Vanguard, so send renewal of my subscription for two years." L. W. Wing, Joplin, Mo.

"I consider The Vanguard the best radical paper published today in such limited form as to be popular." Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, Mount Verson, N. Y.

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"The Vanguard is one of the most effective concealed weapons I have ever carried," F. A. Wilson, Angus, Minn.

"Your noble monthly is the best propaganda literature that can be placed in the hands of religious people." Dr. J. H. Giles, Dover, Tenn.

"The Vanguard above all other Socialist publications is the one I prefer to get subscribers for. It can be passed on after read and will not disgust those who have never read up on the subject of Socialism. If it could reach every family in the United States, it would mean three or four times more strength for our cause." R. W. Dawson, Fertile, Minn.

Of course we are gratified to know that our efforts are appreciated and that The Vanguard occupies such as important place in the Socialist movement as these responses indicate.

Again we call upon the comrades everywhere to put their shoulders to the wheel.

All together, for an increase of 10,000 in our circulation within the next sixty days.

This will enable us to put into effect plans we have in mind for further improving our magazine and making it more effective in the great struggle for social justice in which we are engaged.

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[Continued from Page 22.]

izing with the miners whose conduct been admirable. Speaking of his treatment Mr. Floaten says: did not submit to violence and wrong because we were cowards, but because we thought it right to obey the laws and to conduct ourselves in a peaceful and orderly manner."

At this writing the deported men have not been permitted to return to their families and the Citizens' Alliance declares that they will not be permitted to return peaceably. Judge Stevens promptly granted an injunction restraining anyone from interfering with their return but before the injunction could be served Govenor Peabody declared county under martial law and ordered troops to Telluride, thus forestalling the action of the court; and now that martial law has been declared no officer of the court can serve the injunction.

Thus does capitalist anarchy override the law, defy the courts trample upon the rights of citizenship and use the highest function of government to serve its diabolical end.

NOTES

The Appeal to Reason will issue a daily edition in Chicago during the meeting of the national convention.

At the recent town election the Socialists of Stoughton, Mass., cast 439 votes as again 552 for the Republicans and 205 for the Democrats.

In the local election in Braintree, Mass., the Socialist party polled over 30 per cent of the total vote. Both old parties combined on a "Citizens" ticket.

South Dakota Socialists held their convention and nominated a complete ticket. Freeman Knowles, of Dead-

wood, in the candidate for governor. Headquarters were moved to Aberdeen and Samuel Lovett was chosen state secretary.

Antonio Labriola, who died at Rome last month, was one of the greatest interpreters of Marxian Socialism in all Europe. His masterpiece, "Essays on the Materialistic Inter-pretation of History," has passed through several editions both in Italy and France, and has lately been translated into English by Charles H. Kerr. It is advertised elsewhere in this issue of THE VANGUARD.

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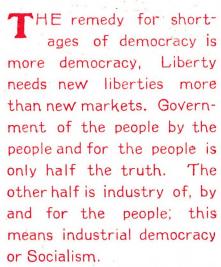
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"We're beaten back in many a fray, Yet newer strength we borrow, And where the vanguard camps today, The rear shall rest tomorrow.

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., MAY, 1904.

NO. 9

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it, they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us. frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to end dare to do our duty as we understand it. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

avowedly Socialist legislation," says men to succeed in business without Benjamin Kidd. "Socialism ceased to be a mere theory and is fast fellows. That the present industrial becoming an economic necessity." Had Mr. Kidd been present at the tion is now so generally admitted that great Socialist Convention just held we need hardly press the assertion of in Chicago he would have had his eyes H. M. Hyndman, "Capitalism has no opened still wider and been forced to ethic." But if any one should call the admission that the day is at this in question after reading Lincoln hand when Socialism will not only Steffens article in McClure's Magabe an economic necessity but an in- zine for April let him ponder well the dustrial reality.

Read carefully the Platform of the Socialist Party adopted unanimously at the National Convention. (Page 22.) It is a clear, concise, masterly statement of the fundamentals of Socialism, destined to rank high among the classics of the movement. Read it again and again till you have grasped its full meaning: read it to your neighbor; then go to work in earnest to propagate this glorious gospel of humanity thru which "this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom."

We believe in the Golden Rule, not merely as an ideal philosophy but as with perfect frankness the Socialist a working law of life, as the only law that is workable, wise, safe. And ture, Prof. Raymond took occasion to therefore we believe in an industrial say (referring to a letter that had

"The times seem to be ripening for system that will make it possible for has trampling upon the rights of their system is immoral and breeds corrupfollowing from the Wall Street Jounal which is surely authority on "business" and capitalist politics as well:

"The fact of the matter is that the conventions of the business world'expressed in law, have simply replaced the exercise of mere brute force, leaving the article of the decalogue against stealing expressed only so far as the stealing is accompanied by actual physical force or absolute fraud. Beyond the moral law finds no expression in the law of business."

We recently had the pleasure of listening to a lecture by Prof. Raymond, of the University of Chicago, on "Berlin, or Socialism vs. Militarism," in which the speaker set forth in striking fashion, by means of stereopticon views, the rise and growth of Socialism in Germany and stated position. Before beginning his lec-

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been written by some timid indivi- terpret Socialism in a manner that that he be muzzled) that the Univer-ligion. responsibility for the utterance sofits part of the Socialism of Marx. ture that followed we were convinc- tain theological tenets. ed that this is the case. In further theories that result from such support of our conclusion comes the fusion are not Socialism, whatever deliverance of Prof. Albion W. Small else may be said of them. as follows:

"At present society is willing to let the owners of capital, like those who inherit it, loaf around. The time will come when the idlers will get no reward, and the semi-idlers will only get reward for what they do. The non-producer should not be entitled to one cent. Every man who desires work should be entitled to what he earns. The economic doctrine of the productivity of capital is a fallacy. In other words, the only incomes to which individuals as such have an essentially moral claim are virtually the essentially moral claim are virtually the wages of labor."

In the interest of fairness we make the above statement concerning the University of Chicago. It has its vulnerable points, and we do not hesitate to condemn in unsparing terms the iniquities which its millions serve to cover up, but nothing is gained by misjudging or misrepresenting our opponents.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

THE VANGUARD stands for Socialism and the editors deem it sufficient to say this without any adjectives before or after.

There are those who are confused upon this subject and feel it necessary to define their particular view of the matter by declaring themselves to be either Marxian, Fabian, Opportunist or Christian Socialists. It seems to us that such classifications arise from a partial understanding of Socialism. As there cannot be a Christian mathe-

dual to President Harper requesting makes it appear to be hostile to re-But it is safe to say that sity of Chicago, while not accepting such an interpretation is no essential teachers, allows them great latitude ers may undertake to modify the of speech. We were pleased to hear fundamentals of Socialism so as to this statement. And from the lec-make it seem compatible with cercon-

> There is but one Socialism, and that is based upon scientifically demonstrated truths. The credit for the discovery and propaganda of the fundamental doctrines of this philosophy is due to a great multitude of thinkers and writers but chiefly to Karl Marx and his immediate co-Three fundamentals unlaborers. derlie the philosophy, viz--(1) the economic interpretation of history. (2) the surplus value, which is the result of the capitalistic exploitation of labor, and (3) the class struggle, which capitalism has produced and which is the social torce already at hand, available to be used, interpreted and directed by the Socialists to the end that Socialism may augurated. This is usually Marxian Socialism. There is other Socialism. Whoever does not understand and firmly grasp these fundamental facts of our present social order does not yet thoroughly understand Socialism. And whatever is taught which is less than the synthesis of these mighty truths is less than Socialism.

Moreover, there is but one political party that represents this philosophy, the Socialist Party; and whatever others may do, we who edit this paper feel and have felt for years matics that is different from a secular that our place, our membership, our mathematics, so there is no Christian influence, our service and our votes Socialism that is different from the belong to this party. For, whatever Socialism of Karl Marx. Some may in- its faults, it is the expression of the

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international struggle for the higher social order of economic justice.

There are those who think that one cannot accept this philosophy of Socialism with its economic basis, its grasp of the materialistic facts of social life and the rest, and still believe in the teaching of Jesus. we feel differently. To us, Socialism is the logic of Christianity. To us Jesus was and must ever be the friend of the poor and the oppressed. His can by no manner of philosophy means be interpreted as in any sense opposed to the struggle of the working class for justice. Indeed, to us the one all-important point in the records of the life of Jesus, of Isaiah. of Moses and the great characters of Bible history is their supreme and unflinching devotion to the cause and interests of those who toiled. We feel that to follow their example means for us to join ourselves to the working class movement of our time. And the study of the labor problem of today reveals Socialism as the highest ethical, economic and political expression of the working class movement that has appeared in human history.

THE VANGUARD stands for the ethics of Socialism which are identical with the ethics of Christianity. It stands for the Socialist Party of America which is the political expression of the class struggle for justice and brotherhood. It is this synthesis that makes the whole and Socialism the most exalted ideal of modern times whose aim is the emancipation of all classes from the thraldom of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

It is a duty which every man owes himself and his country to study the of countless creatures who curse the principles of Socialism. Socialism is grudging ground that God made rich coming and the sooner you understand with resource. it the better.

"OBTAINING POSSESSION"

T. B. Walker, whose name is famous to all Minneapolis people, has obtained possession of the vast timber tracts in Northwestern California, lapping into Oregon. and is now called "the lumber king of the world." There is sufficient timber to last sixty years. He will build a rail-road 200 miles long to connect this timber region with the rail-road now connecting California and the railroad now connecting California and Oregon.

J. W. Lawrence, a Minneapolis man, has discovered vast coal mines in Petaluma county, forty miles from San Francisco. The discovery was made only about 90 days ago, and the coal is already being mined. It is taken from the mountain and hill sides and to mine as potatoes.-LOS is most as easy ANGELES NEWS.

This is one way the people are robbed of what belongs to them. big capitalist or the rich corporation "obtains possession"-note the smoothness of the expression-of the elemental resources, the forests in this case. These are then exploited. The timber is cut down and sold back to the people, and then, after all the elemental wealth is stripped off the land, the rocks and stumps are given back to the people to work up into "happy homes." And if it should happen that there should be even a chance of under-lying beds of oreiron, copper, or other-then this will be "reserved" to the capitalist. such cases the land, after being strip. ed of its timber, is sold to the gentle "common people" with the "mineral reserve" as is the case in all northern Wisconsin and Michigan. That is, the people may buy the surface rocks and stumps but the possible underlying wealth of nature they may not buy. That belongs to the rich.

If there be any justice in the universe, God and nature did not intend that the forests should grow, the oil wells flow, the copper, iron, silver and gold be inlaid for the benefit of a few,—to be rutilessly plundered and the leavings thrown to the multi-tudes. And yet the "shrewd" the "cunning," the "far seeing" must be rewarded for their "sagacity" and the price is paid by the tedious toil

plunder. Socialism will stop this

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WHEN LOVE CONTROLS

When love of man controls the human heart-When life seems desolate if others grieve .-Then all the future fair cannot deceive The soul far-seeing as it threads the mart. 'Twill hear the harsh command to poor, "Depart," Though hissed in undertone; 'twill see them leave-And instantly—as hoping no reprieve:— And tears for harrassed humans then shall start.

When Love controls we will resent these blows That break the spirit, 'base the body poor. What word is this that issues from our souls Seduced to preaching by the ease that flows Unstinted through our lives-Shall these endure Our telling, "God, for good, your life controls?"

EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

MANUFACTURER AND SOCIALIST

UST a homely sort of a man, a good comrade, is Mr. N. O. Nelson the kind of a man that meets you one minute and shakes your hand, and whose hand the next minute is on your shoulder. scramble of strong men for wealth he has scrambled well. But in the scramble of good men for justice and humanity he has scrambled equally well. He is a millionaire; he is also a Socialist. And he is not afraid to say that business for profit only is immoral. Nor does he say it softly and to himself, but from the high places where all may hear.

"So you want to hear of village Leclaire," he said. "Well, to begin at the beginning, I have been manufacturing for thirty years. Strikes first interested me in the labor question, and led me to the study of economics. From this study, and from my experience as a practical employer, I arrived at profit-sharing, which I adopted in my business sixteen years ago. But I speedily discovered that this was not enough. The city I regarded as a human hot-house, hospital and graveyard-no place for men and women to live and work, or children to be born and reared.

"So, twenty-five miles from St. Louis near Edwardsville, on the Illinois highlands, I bought 125 acres of rolling ground and built my factories. There are six of them, fire-proof and hygienic, with showers and lunch tables and all possible accommodations for the workers."

As I listened, I recollected what H. E. Armstrong once said of Mr. Nelson "Mr. Nelson happens to be one of those men who would rather give his employees an interest in his business than squeeze them to endow institutions."

"But are you perfectly satisfied with profit-sharing, Mr. Nelson?" I asked, "Do you consider it the panacea for all industrial and social ills?"

"No," he answered, weighing his words carefully. "Profit-sharing is a transient phase only of the evolution of production. It is better than the unshared profits of the employer. It is recognition merely, of the

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worker, and of the worker's interest and right in what he does—a partial measure of justice, so to say."

"Profit-sharing, because it depends willy-nilly, on the action of the employer, can never become a world system. Co-operation, or Socialism, will simply be all the people doing what the few people are now doing at Leclaire."

"Then you believe the workman is entitled to the product of his toil?"

The millionaire's head nodded emphatically.

"Precisely! Precisely!"

"Then, what is your opinion of trades-unionism? Can the unions gain for the worker the full product of his toil?"

Again he weighed his word carefully. "The trade unions are absolutely necessary today. I am heartily in favor of them. They are extremely useful now for the protection of the workers. They have done and are doing a vast deal of amelioration But they will never gain for the worker the full product of his toil, and for this reason: trades unionism does not aim to put the workman in possesion of the machinery of production; and NOT UNTIL THE WORKMAN OWNS THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION MAY HE OWN WHOLLY THAT WHICH HE PRODUCES."

JACK LONDON.

WHO PAYS WAGES?



LMOST every defense of the capitalist attempts to show that he pays wages. "If it were not for the capitalist who pays the wages, what would the poor workingman do?" is the question which, in one form or another, is hurled at every one who dares to question the sacredness of our present social institutions.

It is generally claimed that these wages are paid out of the "savings which it is presumed the capitalist has accumulated by more than ordinary thrift and industry. We will not stop to question where the capitalist got what he has at the present time. If we did, it might lead us into rather unsavory paths, for, as Karl Marx has well said,

"Capital comes into the world dripping with blood and dirt at every pore," and the origin of capital in every country has been a story of child slavery, wholesale thievery and exploitation of mankind.

But let us take things as they are with the capitalist in tull possession of the capital of the world. Even then does he pay wages?

A hundred years ago a weaver used a hand-loom with which he could not weave more than five or six yards per day. A modern weaver watches thirty-two Northrup looms, every one of which is spinning from three to four hundred yards of cloth per day. Even more striking comparisons could be made in some departments of the iron and steel industry.

The modern laborer comes into an improved factory or mill and in the first half hour he produces two or three times as much as he could have produced in an entire day with the simple tools of his grandfather. In this first half hour he has produced his wages.

But before he could get the opportunity to use these tools to produce

his own living he was compelled to enter into a wage contract to work for eight, ten or twelve hours longer. Duing the second half hour he produces enough to pay for the share of superintendence, depreciation of the plant, replacement of new machinery, etc., which falls to his machine. For two or three hours longer, perhaps, he works to meet the wastes of our present system. He produces enough to pay his share of the \$2,000,000,000 spent every year in advertising in America, to pay for building of one hundred plants where one would have done the work, to pay for carrying goods back and forth over the same territory in order to meet competition, etc.

Having done all this, he then works on for some time longer to PAY PROFITS TO THE CAPITALIST.

So we see that, so far from the capitalist paying wages, the laborer not only produces capital in the first place, but reproduces it day after day as he works, creates his own wages, pays for superintendence, depreciation, wear and tear, meets all the outlandish wastes of competition and finally produces all the great sums that go as profits to the capitalist class. On the profits thus produced by the laborer the capitalist piles up funds to constitute a basis for future exploitation. When in a few years this surplus value has become the private property of the individual capitalist it will be explained by some few apologists of capitalism as a fund out of which capitalist generously pays wages to the poor laborers.

The Socialist denies the necessity for the existence of a great social class simply for the purpose of owning and receiving the surplus value produced by the workers. The Socialist believes that the laborers who are capable of using the productive forces and natural resources of the earth, to feed and house the people of the world, are also capable of collectively owning that with which they produce this wealth, as well as the finished product.

A. M. SIMONS

THE BASIS OF SOCIALISM



HOSE who suppose that Socialism is the result of unrest are greatly mistaken. This is a favorite cry with its opponents, who seem unable to understand that it can have any other meaning. They try to prove that this unrest is unjustified, or, admitting that there is cause for it, they insist that Socialism is not the true remedy. We are ready to admit that there is much of unrest and discontent in the country, and that it has its influence in causing men to turn to Socialism. But it must not be understood that Socialism has no other foundation, and that when the discontent has passed away Socialism will disappear with it. The fact is that Socialism

is affirmative, progressive, based on modern science and in harmony with the deepest instincts of human nature. All the human sciences, those that deal with man in any of the phases of his existence, are essentially Socialistic in their conclusions. This may not be recognized by the men who interpret them, and who are extending their province by means of research; but, nevertheless, this is the truth in regard to them, a fact which

will soon be recognized by thinking men. The economic conditions of life are also compelling men to accept Socialism, for in that only is found the social interpretation of the vast growth of industrialism and the consequent combination of industrial interests. Not the less does the spirit of brotherhood and altruism, ever growing more powerful and effective, make in the direction of Socialism.

Here are affirmative causes enough for the rapid growth that Socialism is making in all the progressive countries of the world. These causes are largely or entirely ignored by those who are attacking Socialism, and in this they show their failure to comprehend the influence it exerts over individuals as well as great masses of men. While it offers a hope of larger rewards and opportunities to some men it gives greater ideals and incentives to others, and to those who think deepest a scientific assurance that co-operation is the great affirmative law of life into harmony with which all human affairs must be ultimately brought.

Not being based on a spirit of unrest or on passing conditions of the industrial world, Socialism is destined to live on until it conquers universal acceptance. It is based on ultimate facts of life, while that which opposes it has no other foundation than personal greed. As society is stronger than the individual, so is Socialism more powerful as a motive than individual enterprise. Competition is being more and more outgrown as an industrial principle, while collectivism is in every direction becoming deeply rooted as a social influence.

The fact is that Socialism is a product of human needs, the most powerful and universal that operates in the life of man. It is essential in order that individuality may have an opportunity to develop the full measure of its capacities, not in a few men, but for all. Individual initiative is stunted and abortive in most men without its sanction and incentive. Personal freedom is denied to the majority until it proclaims their liberation. Collective action can alone give to man full industrial freedom and opportunity, true ethical motive and stimulus.

GEO. WILLIS COOKE

SUNDAY SOCIALIST MEETINGS

HEN Jesus was on earth he was constantly hounded by a band of Pharisees who upbraided him for helping and healing the people on the Sabbath. His answer to the charge was as follows: "Is it lawful on the Sabbath to do good, or to do harm? to save a life or to destroy it?"

Socialism comes to bring justice to the earth. We do not espouse this cause for a pastime. We are here that the workers of the world may be delivered from the most insidious oppression that humanity ever suffered. We have come "to do good" This task is the sacred task of our lives.

We must make haste. We must work every day because our duty is a sacred duty.

We readily understand why it is that politics in the old sense is not fit for Sunday (or any other day for that matter!) But we are not politicians in the old sense. We are not blackening the reputations of

individual men. We are not interested in another so of individuals securing public office. We desire that the political powers be obtained by an organized movement of the producers of all wealth, so that those who build the houses shall inhabit them and those that plant the vireyards shall eat the fruit of them.

Sunday is our day of greatest opportunity. Then the toilers have a little leisure. We can get our message to them, because they have time to listen.

So on this day of rest we are going to raise our voices on behalf of the men and women who work at starvation wages, on behalf of the countless thousands of children whose lives are stunted and crushed in factories, on behalf of the toilers whose homes have been confiscated by a ruthless capitalism which knows no God but Profit. Let the hypocrites, as of old, cry, "It is unlawful." We reply with Jesus: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath,"

F. G. STRICKLAND.

PASTOR CHRISTIAN CHURCH, PARDEEVILLE, W18.

OUR "BENEVOLENT" ASSIMILATORS

"Hands up!" shouted the road agent.

As he was going through the pockets of the passengers one of them remonstrated, "This is very hard," said he, "to give up—"

"Nonsense!" shouted the road magnate. "if it were not for us leisure classes there would be no demand for your watches."

"But you give us nothing for them," urged the discontented passenger.

"I have organized the production of valuables," replied the captain of industry, "consider what a waste it would be to pick all your pockets separately."

"But we don't want our pockets picked," said the agitator.

"I am charging only what the traffic will bear," returned the capitalist. "I leave your clothes and enough food to last you till the end of the journey; besides, I leave you free to earn more valuables."

"This is simple theft-benevolent assimilation, I mean," said the passenger.

"I give you permission to use the road. What more do you want, you demagogues?"

"We want to control our own highway."

"If you controlled the road yourselves the dear public would be robbed. Much better to leave the highways to professional highwaymen."

"We___"

"You forget the immense sums I have given to the public by handing back purses and bags when I took the valuables: that, as Comrade Rockefeller says, 'is paying wages, which is the best sort of giving.'"

"But-"

"I am only taking what you have now, whereas the trusts take mortgages on all you may ever have."

"But you have no right at all to anything we produce."

"I am holding it only as a trustee," said the leading citizen, "and I have founded a library with my gains."

BOLTON HALL.

MAX NORDAU'S CRITICISM OF SOCIALISM



versely but sophistically, quish the stern joy of doing.

Nordau evinces subject and there is a suspicion of sympathy for the laboringman, but his arguments are

the part of the Socialist "to enjoy tioned again, while Germany first privileges," and adds, "But his vague promulgated the Socialist philosophy hope is that he may lead an ornamenand today leads the Socialism of the tal, lordly existence with very little world. Germany, teutonic, practical, work or without work at all." If this vigorous and profound, to whom we were his ambition it would not be en- go for our latest science, our most tirely without precedent. We have practicable mathematics, our highest today persons and classes who lead art: Germany with our hundreds of idle lives at the expense of others' toil. But the able critic gives no world's muscial pilgrimages to Bay-proof that it is a Socialist aim. In reuth, and literary homage to Wei-fact his phrase "lordly existence" mar. "Under energetic man" etc., strikes with incongruous discord the yet Socialism was first defined in Gerdoctrines of men who aim to abolish many when Bismark was leading for all classes and to obliterate, if pos-Prussia, and Von Moltke was fighting sible, all arrogance. To idle is not for that land, not to mention the inherent in human nature. Every virile genius of Karl Marx himself, child is active. They would always who at such cost to personal considlove to work if labor were made erations made his lucid analysis of honorable and the conditions attrac- historic institutions on which Social-Under our present artificial ists build. ideals, to do useful work for bread is considered degrading, the confession neurasthenic men, muddle-headed, of failure. It is this false ideal and people accuse a government" or the young that make labor in many He is correct in this. Socialism recases distasteful. Activity is nat-cognizes the inequalities and explains ural. See the athletics of the lei-them as a social stage, an epoch thru sure class, the handwork of privileged which we must pass before we merge women, and the incessant activity of into something higher. No man, children. Were it possible that the men, class of men, government or human race could be maintained in other institution is the cause of pre-

AX NORDAU in an ar- comfort and luxury without work we ticle, "Socialism in Eu- could look to the inventing of some rope" in the March (1904) means of labor for the sinewy delight Cosmopolitan, criticises it gives. He judges meanly of man Socialism brilliantly, ad- who believes that he longs to relin-

Perhaps the weakest of Mr. Norbroad knowledge of the dau's criticisms is where he says: "In the case of strong peoples, under energetic men in epochs of general progress, Socialism gains no ground. In the case of weakened nations, of flabby not unassailable. indolent men, at times of national He admits "the arrogance of the decline, it is eagerly adopted and rich and the misery of the poor" but spreads widely." The facts of the adds the popular but false platitude history of Socialism as adduced by that "they have always existed." Mr. Nordau himself disprove these With our present light on the past conclusions The present is an age history of the race, Mr. Nordau knows of progress, of virile nations, of that inequalities in human conditions strong individualities, and the greathave been endured only for the past test fact in the history of this time six thousand years while our race has is the growth of Socialism. The been fully two hundred thousand years in existence.

Strongest in the greatest nations. Then he presumes to judge of what England is an apparent tho not real he calls an "unconfessed desire" on exception to this and will be menstudents at her universities; with the

Again, Mr. Nordau says: "Weakly our imperfect methods of instructing others causing unequal conditions. sent inequalities but rather the re- this they are broader more generous sult of them, and when human society and more just than Mr. Nordau's sult of them, and when human society and more just than Mr. shall have attained its next step in progress much that is unworthy in our present life will be left behind.

Again does the learned critic lucidly state a fundamental truth when he says:"the work of strong individuali-ties, who by means of their own efforts within the limits of the existing social and economic organization, reach wealth and comforts, is in no a solution of the problem which Socialism pretends to solve." This is one of the brilliant passages in his criticism and shows his grasp of the situation. But when he has admitted this, behold the contradiction in his statement: "Strong, headed men proclaim 'help thyself,' " and soon again admitting that this helping oneself (which is too often done by wronging others) "is an egotistical effort which has only in view the improvement of the individual lot in life." And he also adds "Self-help is possible to the single man up to a certain point only." This from the pen that but a moment before by the charm of suggestive rhetoric held up the aphorism "Help thyself" as a motto to be written in rubrics. While "Help thyself" is indeed a wholesome advice, it is no answer to the party that is striving to give every man an opportunity to help himself. The quintessence of the Socialist ideal is a state where it will be possible for every individual to help himself to And the teacher who places any selfish appeal before this is falling into error, I care not how "strong and self.

heroes who proclaim from the housetops"Help thyself," but yet lack the cosmic consciousness which is yet to teach them where their salvation lies. If strikers are not violent, yet violence exerted by one side or the other generally accompanies them. and for the cost in money we have the recent example of the strike in Colorado where a sum equal to one third of the taxable property of the already has been wasted. Troops have been employed with all the intensity of feeling that armed opposition produces. And when all will be over, little if anything will be gained, much will be lost and nothing will be settled. If the questions between them could be permanently adjusted we would not count the cost. But with all the expense, irritation, iolence and impotence of the strikes, Mr. Nordau recommends them as preferable to the ballot in settling disputes. He counsels workmen to strike, bitter and wrathful tho the strike, bitter and wrathin the sale strike be, rather than in peace and with dignity to step to the ballot-box, and vote for a program that stands for justice for all. Which, ask we, is the saner, the dreamer when he derides or the character that he vaunts as strong, yet admits to be a coward; who dares not enter the political contest lest the prize be not quickly won, and who therefore votes to further realize the best, the noblest that postpone the day of victory—votes there is in him. Mr. Nordau realizes to maintain a system that imposes as every intelligent person must that suffering upon himself? Even gentlein our complex society any real men like Nordau anticipate this help must come by first helping all. suffering and in the plenitude of their And the teacher who places any sel- pity say: "You have the strike which the law allows."

With regard to the effects of the clear-headed" he may proclaim him- trades unions in England, they have helped there, conditions When Mr. Nordau has admitted the look at the horrors of the East End necessity of collective effort, he fol- in London and then ask if the queslows it with naming trades unions as tion of labor has been settled in Engthe remedy, and cites England as a land. In fact so serious are the replace where, he says, they have been sults of the extravagances of the rich effectual. Now it scarce needs be and privations of the poor that they said that trades unions are in their are leading to the debasement of the nature limited. It detracts nothing race, and Great Britain has been from the courage, tenacity and good forced to lower the physcial standard purpose of the strikers to say that required in her army. But before they are often defeated and never ob- one presumes too far on the statetain more than a partial victory. ment that Socialism takes no root in They strike and sacrifice to help, not English soil, we must remember that all workmen, but all union men. In all of English politics is not revealed on the surface. England is in some one isolated city can establish Social-respects a political paradox. A free ism. It must be done by an entire nation yet ruled by a king. A dem-nation. Our present elaborate orocratic people yet tolerating nobles. ganization of industry, with its close A progressive people yet with the concentration and its surplus progarb of conversatism. A broad just ducts annually growing greater, is a people (tho sometimes swayed by the more accurate index of the coming of political trickster as which nation is Socialism than is a count of Socialnot) and when the time comes for the ist votes. rapid advance of Socialism, the English people will be at one with the conscious pride of "three grand ingreat growth of our social institu- stitutions, assurance against sickness

temerity to differ with some of the institutions? In some generous rearguments of the late Spencer, and public? No. to affirm that the will of the majority vaunted trades unionism? No. But should rule, at least to the extent of in Socialistic Germany. Many Sopermitting them to satisfy their just cialists, it is true, scorn to accept wants. This being granted it rethese crumbs, but the exploiters premains for defenders of the present fer to reduce the tax rather than consystem to devise some way by which test the principle. In the case of this most salutary end may be accomthese "grand institutions" the funds is now even approximated. Social- workmen paying one third of the ism offers a remedy that is scientific premium and the employer paying not because Engels or any other of its the other two thirds, and for the penadvocates "drapes it in a mantle of sions, the government, employer, and pretended science" but because its workman each paying a moiety. Now assumptions may be proved with as if the working-men are receiving all much accuracy as a problem in Eu- that they earn as wages, it is a palclid. It will not long suffice for its pable injustice to the employers to opposers to cry out "theorist" or oblige them to pay an assurance pre"mystic," for the philosophy of Somium or any part thereof for the cialism is not of the stuff of which laborers. No man who loves justice dreams are made.

minority party. Then he declares thrown to them by the beneficent for a decade, and is not vet a man, their manhood to counsel them to or to an egg that has been sixteen forbear to use any honorable means days in an incubator and was not to secure a restitution? yet a chicken. It needs no exegesis The discerning critic says that to prove that these developments "the lot of the proletariat is better take time. Socialism in not a docthan it was a generation ago" and

Then the able critic speaks with and accident and old age pensions of Mr. Nordau has the commendable workmen." Where do we find these In England with her plished. No one would contend that it are procured for the assurance by the should point to such a scheme with Again, Mr. Nordau shows that So- approval. On the other hand, if the cialism was proclaimed thirty-five laborers are not getting what they years ago, that it has spread to every earn but only a part of it, and if the civilized nation of the earth, to greater share, or any part, however every state of our republic, and to small, of their earnings is retained many of the islands of the sea; that by the capitalist, then there are it flourishes everywhere and that sufficient reasons why the workmen in many places it is the strongest should scorn to accept these scraps triumphantly that it has not yet paternalism of the German state. Mr. realized its aims. No, it has not. As Nordau speaks of the "disinherited well might one point to a ten year masses." We readily grant that there old boy as one that had been nurtured are such, and is it not a reproach to

trine in the minds of a few men who hopefully adds that it may become seek to establish it by their teach-still better a generation hence. It is ing. It is a step in the evolution a little difficult to be dispassionate of the race, a new form of production with such a statement. Would the and distribution, and we are helped gentleman deny to the working more by the development of induspeople, who are the greater part of trial forces than we can possibly be the human family, a right to the by any amount of proselyting. No benefits of the growth of the race?

Would he establish a new primo-geni- you are 'disinherited.' When you are ture with the capitalists for oldest on the point of perishing from need, ture with the capitalists for oldest sons? With our wealth of inventions, discoveries and improvements wrought out almost entirely by the workers themselves—improvements that have made production easier a thousandfold, he says: "Be quiet; seek not political advantage; you are better off than your fathers were." The sophistry in this is that it is irrelevant. The question is one of simple justice. Are the workers now simple justice. Are the workers now Nordau) 'already in thirty years getting substantially what their labor wrought greater ameliorations than produces? If not they would re-ar-all the wisdom of statesmen and they may. They have their case But we do not like it. It is 'theoretprepared. Their complaint is the ically absurd' for it would deprive
Socialist platform filed with every us of our profits and make it imposgovernment in the civilized world; sible for us to continue to lead an ortheir witnesses are present condi- namental, lordly existence." tions; their counsel the well informed Socialists. The capitalists offer for their defense—an answer? No. An array of evidence tending to disprove what we allege? No. Witnesses of any kind? No. But their afford to wait. learned counsel comes into court and says in substance: "We admit

This is the present status of this

AGNES HALPIN DOWNING.

CAPITALIST PATRIOTISM

[With undiminished respect for the memory of Sir Walter Scott.] Breathes there a man with soul so dead Who never to himself hath said: "Let's grab some nation's native land!" Who hath not massacred and burned, Wasted and ruined, ere he turned From robbery on some foreign strand? If such there breathe, go, mark him well! He makes no water tortures swell; High though his talents, wide his fame, Patriot his soul as wish can claim-Yea, be he Honor's second self, His worth and intellect we'll shelf, And make a hero of some clown, Who bawls: "Let peace-makers go down To the vile dust from whence they sprung, All drawn, all quartered, and all hung!"

BERTRAND SHADWELL.

Capital is the most terrible scourge of humanity; it fattens on the misery of the poor, the degradation of the worker, and the brutalizing toil of his wife and children: just as capital grows, so grow also pauperism, that millstone round the neck of civilization, the revolting cruelties of our factory system, the squalor of great cities, and the presence of deep poverty seated hard by the gate of enormous wealth.

KARL MARX.



ON THE FIRING LINE

When capitalist robbery ceases, the occupation of being "good to the poor" will be one of the lost arts. -- ERIE PEOPLE.

The plutocrats keep on telling us that Socialism is an impractical dream, and Socialists keep on carrying one town after another and increasing their vote at every polling place. - CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

Every time vou heara man declaring that Socialists when once elec-ted to office will be as crooked as the old parties, it is an evidence that such a person has lost faith in human bonesty under the present system!-LABOR.

Rev. Frank Dixon, a brother of Rev. Thos. Dixon. who recently delivered his lecture on "The Curse of Socialism," at Ottawa, has turned down the offer of the Ottawa, Chautauqua Assembly board for a debate on the subject of Socialism, Eugene V. Debs to argue in defense of that belief. In other words, Mr. Dixon is afraid to tackle Debs-KANSAS AGIGATOR.

"I'm not a Socialist, and don't mean to be one, but I read everything about Socialism I run across. It has a fascination for me." said a certain business man some weeks ago. Two weeks later 1 e was at the Social Democratic headquarters buying books on Socialism, and took away with him some pamphlets for dis-tribution! But he still claimed he was not converted. The day after election he was beaming. "Well," he said, "WE cast a fine vote, didn't WE!" And so it goes-Social DEM-OCRATIC HERALD.

A Kansas republican paper, in commenting on a Socialist speech, said: "The speaker, while pitiless in laying bare the class antagonism now exist-ing, and insistent in demanding a better social system, never descended to bitterness or vilification." Of course not. The Socialist knows the cause of all our woes and the remedy as well. He knows that men are made in the image and likeness of God, and it is a vile system that makes demons of them. He has right, truth and justice on his side. It is the capitalist politician who abuses and vilifies. - THE TOILER.

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THE

Green Bay, Wisconsin.

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M, Chicago.

W. N. S. U. CONVENTION.

The Convention of the Woman's National Socialist Union was called to order soon after 10 a. m., Friday, April 29, in the lodge room of the People's Institute, Chicago. The President announced that she had greetings for the convention from Comrades Mary E. Garbutt, Pres. of Los Angeles Union, and Phoebe Fogh, Sec'y of Salt Lake City Union. After these cheery messages were read. Corrine Brown was elected chairman for the day, and Josephine Conger was elected Secretary.

Before taking up the regular order of business, Mrs. Abbott asked and received permission to offer two resolutions one being a mandate binding all chairmen to enforce the parliamentary "no personalities" law, the other debarring any introduction of religious teachings and discussions-on the ground that all shades of religious belief were represented by the membership. Both resolutsons were un-

animously adopted. The

attendance being lightas usually occurs in any morning meeting in which working-women are are concerned-it was decided take up the least important motions first, reserving special topics for later sessions. About a dozen motions had been sent in by members unable to be present, and these had been so numbered that the discussion of one would naturally lead to the next. motions were offered and discussed. referred to a Committee on Resolutions with orders to report at opening of afternoon session.

Corrine Brown called the afternoon session to order promptly at two o'clock. Frances Proutt was elected Secretary pro tem. Getrude Breslau Hunt read the report of Resolutions

Com. as follows:

Your Com. reports the following

resolutions favorably:

Moved, That the time has come when it would be wise for the W. N. S. U. to abolish the offices of Pres. it was explained that in the form

and Vice Pres., which have always heen tentative.

Moved, That the W. N. S. U. elect a General National Organizer, whose duties shall be defined in the constitution.

Moved. That members-at-large must become auxiliary to the state organization as soon as their states are organized, instead of continuing auxil-

iarv only to the Natl. organization.

Moved, That the legislative department of the W. N. S. U. devote itself to collecting data as to the legal disof women-including the denial of the ballot, inability to own their children, inequality of sex protection, inability to control their earnings and property, etc .- with a view to using the information thus obtained in awakening the interest of women in political action.

Moved. That we could do better work as an organization if we struck from the name of the Union the word Socialist and substituted something less offensive to the public.

Moved and carried that report be accepted and resolutions considered

seriatim.

Mrs. Abbott spoke in favor of the first motion, explaining the original need of a Pres. and stating that her work had been more in the line of an organizer than the name indicated. There was considerable difference of opinion as to the wisdom of this motion, but it finally carrried.

It was informally stated that the Resolution Committee had believed that the duties of the General Natl. Organizer ought to be similar to those which have been the portion of the Pres., with the exception of presiding at conventions (which Mrs. A. had already declined to do on the ground of it being contrary to Socialist ideas.) The second motion carried without discussion.

desired the word Miss Conger "must" struck from the third motion and "will" substituted, but did not offer this as an amendment.

which she suggested it already forms Union immediately discovered that a part of the constitution, but that she had an utterly mistaken impressthere had been some inquiry and mis- ion regarding it. Most of us agreed understanding regarding it, she with- with her in her line of reasoning, but drew her suggestion and the motion even non-members of the was adopted as read.

Com. had substituted for another which had been referred to it at the morning session. with the request that such action be taken. The substitute was adopted without discus-

Mrs. Abbott moved to amend the fifth motion by striking out the words "something which is less offensive to the public" and substituting therefor "other word," giving as her reason that, if a change was to be made, it would not be from any deference to the public or fear of their dislike for the present name. This amendment was unanimously adopted, and the amended motion brought out Union and approve of its existence, but have opposed the organization because they consider that none but the political party (or other organiza- spoke in opposition to the Union tions controlled by the party) should though she acknowledged the splendid use the name Socialist. Economic League was the name suggested by Irene Smith; Salt Lake City Comrades had suggested Liberty Lovers; and the comrade who sent in the resolution had preferredSocialScienceClub. This resolution was finally referred to the Natl. Com. with a request that it be considered at the earliest possible opportunity.

The most important resolution of the whole convention (in point of in-

terest) was then offered:

Moved, That the separate organization of women is conducive to the good of the Socialist cause, tends to upbuild the party organization, and must be done if the sex is not to be a drag when a Co-operative Commonwealth is initiated.

The discussion of this motion was intensely interesting. as many non-adjourned, and is now organizer for members of the Union attended the the State of California. session for the express purpose of taking part in it. May Wood Simons should women be inferior to men? made the strongest argument against The framers of the law or custom such an organization and all felt the that made women subservient to men charm of her manner, though those were uneducated. The women of toconversant with the work of the day, thanks to the Socialist party,

quickly realized that she was arguing The fourth motion was one that the against something which has no existence, not against the Union as it really is. She had a notion that women who were dissatisfied with the party were withdrawing and forming a rival organization, whereas every place where a local Union exists it has helped the party or-ganization. She spoke of members of the Union not paying dues to the party, failing to understand that the Union is designed to reach and educate women not ready for the party, with a view to strengthening them by association with clear-cut Socialist women, (All the members of the Union in convention at the time were paying dues in the party and carrying some ardent discussion from members the additional burden of the Union in and non-members. It transpired that order that they might reach those there were those among the party- whom the party methods can not.) at-large who believe in the work She believed that most clubs of wowhom the party methods can not.) which is being accomplished by the men are dilletante affairs and that all women can do better work by holding fast to party lines.
Irene Smith, of Washington, also

though she acknowledged the splendid work which has been done by a local organization of women in which she

has been a moving spirit.

Anna Ferry Smith stated that when the California Socialist Union was organized she attended the convention for the express purpose of "knocking the pins out from under any triding affair." (The California convention was also a mass meeting, in which all Socialist women had equal right to the floor, without regard to membership in the Union.) She had spoken against the organization when this question came up at that time, but as she was sufficiently liberal to hear all sides of a question. so had attended every session, been thoroughly converted to the belief that the Union had a work to do. joined it before the State Convention

Lucinda B. Chandler said: "Why

are being enlightened and demanding equality. Let this Union continue to advance the principle of that higher industrial system, the Co-operative Commonwealth. Let it educate the young in these truths. It is the kindergarten which will make our future Socialists It is doing good, and by all means let us have it."

Gertrude B. Hunt declared that present conditions are slavery for women, who have not the way to right their wrongs. In the home and out, she believed in equal rights and privileges for men and women. She felt thatif the W. N. S. U. had never rendered any other service to the cause of Socialism than to bring together the group of women present, it had given good reason for its existence.

Mrs. Woodward said: "Politically we are non-existent. Present-day civilization holds up its hands to women and says 'Thus far shalt thou go and no farther.' It would seem as if the women are not wanted; even in our own broad party the 'glad hand' is seldom extended to ns. But the dawn of true equality is at hand."

the dawn of true equality is at hand."
Corinne Brown: "We wish that
people would get rid of the idea that
women are organizing to antagonize
the male portion of the Socialist
party. I am not yet a member of the
Union, but I was glad to see the
women organize and helped them.
This is not a rival organization. It
is a feeder to the general movement."

The President gave a summary of the original causes of the Union being formed and something of that which it has already accomplished. She disapproved of mere sentimentalists being admitted into the party organization (which she considers an army for the peaceful capture of the government) but believed this Union; a school which will train them for good work in the political movement. She reminded the comrades that the new converts, if admitted to political organization, may outvote the scientific members who thoroughly understand the why and wherefore. of methods and tactics.

Other points brought out in the discussion were: Many women still regard all things political as unclean, but know this capitalistic system is wrong, and they should be so educated that they may be fit to teach the young the truth. Many Socialist

women, members of the party, are incompetent to teach Socialism. have never had any systematic study, and do not obtain this in the party Locals. Many Socialist women who, had not attended Locals, after joining the Union come heartily into the party There are male comrades who are unwilling for their wives to attend business meetings of party, or take any active part in political matters. There are women who are diffident, or with unfamiliar parliamentary usage, who are inactive even There are they do attend Locals. Locals where women are not welcome. There are homes in discord, because the wives dislike politics and misunderstand their Socialist husbands' attitude. There are women who can not be reached by cool reasoning but must have an appeal made to their sympathies before interest in economic conditions can be aroused.

(To be continued.)

Matter intended for the Women's Department has been crowded out this month to make room for the above report. This will be concluded in our next issue after which the regular features will again appear.

THE FEARFUL PRICE.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST occasionally prints a Socialist sermon, unwittingly. In a late issue the editor said:

Dividends—profit—conquest of the market—these and similar phrases are the sacred passwords nowadays. In the minds of too many, any, course that tends or seems to tender to the production of material wealth is not only excusable but actually right. Cutting wages, employing children who should be at school, unsanitary factories and stores, defiance of law, bribery and corruption—anything and everything, provided only that wealth is produced.

What a miserable, bestial blindness! What a loathesome confusing of means and end! What a repulsive forgetfulness that wealth is only valuable, only desirable, only tolerable, in so far as it produces and tends to produce men and women clothed in the full dignity of the human race!

The toad beneath the harrow knows Exactly where each tooth-point goes; The butterfly upon the road, Preaches contentment to that toad.
—RUDYARD KIPLING.



Socialist Headquarters

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Boylston Bdg., 269 Desphorn St. Chicago III

269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ili.

NATIONAL CONVENTION

Greatest Gathering in the History of American Socialism

United, Strong and Enthusiastic Party Adopt Constitution and Platform and Nom-

inate Debs and Hanford.

The greatest convention of Socialists ever held in America, a gathering which marks an epoch in the history of the movement, was in held Chicago, May 1-6. Representatives were present from every state in the union; men and women of various trades and callings; carpenters, printers, miners, ministers, doctors, editors and law-yers were among the delegates. Americans, English, Irish, Germans, French, Scandinavians, Japanese and negroes met together in the name of justice, representative of the character and scope of the Socialist Party which makes no discrimination on account of race, color, creed or sex. Yet it was pre-eminently a convention of workers, and the dominant desire throughout was to unite the toilers of the world in the demand that capitalistic exploitation of labor shall cease and our industries be operated for the common good.

In point of intelligence, grasp of economic facts, ability to handle the great problems before it the gathering must have been an revelation to the most prejudiced capitalist mind, while in moral tone we venture to say that no purer, nobler body of men and women ever convened on American soil. The "bum" and "booze" element so much in evidence in old

1

3

party conventions was conspicuous by its absence. Smoking was prohibited during all the sessions. The discussions, tho heated at times, were, without exception carried on with the evident desire to get at the right thing and the results in every instance were highly gratifying to the editors of the THE VANGUARD.

(Our space does not permit of an extended report of the proceedings. Those wishing to secure such a report in convenient form for preservation will find it in the May issue of the International Socialist Review, a "Special Convention Number." Price 10 cents, postpaid, at our office.)

Nearly ever delegate elected was present when the meeting was called to order by Secretary William Mailly. The Socialists of Wisconsin pre-

ented a beautiful silver gavel for use in this and succeeding conventions which was greeted with enthusiasm.

The chairman elected for successive days were as follows: James F. Carey, Mass.; Morris Hillquit, N. Y.; N. A. Richardson, Cal.; F. Sieverman, N. Y. William Mailly, Neb. S. Stedman Ill. Charles Dobbs, was elected Secretary with F. X. Waldhorst, Ala. and Ira Cross, Wis., assistants.

The banquet tendered the delegates by the Cook County Comrades, at which 700 were seated, was a delightful and inspiring occasion. Able speeches were made by B. Berlyn, Ben Hanford, Wm. Mailly, A. M. Simons, Jas. F. Carey, G. D. Herron, Chas. Heydrick, H. F. Titus, Ida Crouch-Hazlett, Gaylord Wilshire, and Sen Yoe Katayama, a Japanese Socialist.

The following cablegram evoked prolonged applause:

"To the National Convention, Socialist Party of America! Ail Hail to the convention assembled for the important work of choosing presidential candidates. Three cheers for the international movement!

Executive Committee Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

A reply was ordered sent to Germany which read as follows:

"Socialists of the United States of America return fraternal geetings of German com-

rades, wishing them ever greater victories over the common enemy of the working class."

The adoption of a new constitution and platform was the most important business transacted and occupied considerable time. Both documents, finally accepted by unanimous votes, reflect great credit on the convention, place the organization on a firm basis and set the principles and program of Socialism before the American people in clear and convincing fashion. The platform, printed in full below, is a splendid statement of the Socialist position, and will win to its support thousands of lovers of justice and liberty:

THE PLATFORM

E, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the assembled, make our appear to the American people as the delenders and preservers of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democrat izing of the whole of society

To this idea of liberty the Republican and To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they ing new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyrence. It completely controls the university anny. It completely controls the university and public school, the palpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths

in which our institutions were founded. But

in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes to so organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but in-ternational, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundries, The chief significance of national boundries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of coatending capitalists for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit

sources of profit.
The socialist movement ovement therefore is a It knows of no conflicts world-movement. world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physicial and intellectual misery, as its portion.

as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

connict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual goods, has long since ceased to be individual

The labors of scores, or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is notfor the direct use of the things made by the working who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class, that has the right or power to be.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable, Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve its. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of

wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, commuciation and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children, and their freedom from the worker's children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of th

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our tellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

The most remarkable demonstration of the convention occured when Eugene V. Debs and Ben Hanford were nominated. Comrade Debs was absent from the hall at the time and Comrade Hanford spoke first, concluding as follows:

Now, Comrades, you have the greatest privilege that any people on the face of the earth ever had. In all previous revolutions, none of them ever had it in its power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people, or a little nation of people, but this movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every had on the earth, wherever they had be, for all time. This movement is not every worth living for, but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the verild. To bring about the furtherance of this thing I say to you let your hearts be as true as

steel, put your whole power into action, and we will have Socialism in our time and our country. (Prolonged cheering and applause.)

The introduction of Comrade Debs, later on, witnessed the climax of the enthusiasm. When quiet had been restored he spoke in part as follows:

Comrade Chairman and Comrades: In the councils of the Socialist party the collective will is supreme. Personally I could have wished to remain in the ranks, to make my record humble though it might be, fighting unnamed and unhonored side by side with my comrades. I accept your nomination, not for any honor it confers because in the Socialist movement no comrade can be honored, except as he honors himself by fidelity to the movement. I accept your nomination because of the confidence it implies, because of the duty it enforces. I can but wish that I may in a reasonable measure meet your expectations, that I may bear aloft the banner of the working class, that as your representative I may prove myself worthy to carry the standard of the only party that proposes to to emancipate my class from the slavery of the ages.

I have the honor to stand in the presence of an historic convention. T would that Carl Marx might be here today. I would that La Salle, that all the men who have wrought and struggled for the cause might be with us. I wish that it were possible for them to share in the glories of this oc-

casion

We are today upon the eve of battle. are ready for the conflict. We are eager for the fray. We depart from here with the en-dorsement of a convention that challenges undisputed the approval of the working class of the world. The platform upon which we stand is the first American utterance upon the subject of international Socialism. Hitherto we have reiterated, we have followed, now for the time in the American movement we have realized the American expression of the movement. There is not a line or a word of that platform that is not revolu-tionary, that does not stand precisely and clearly as the expression of the American movement

We leave this convention to throw down the gauntlet, to challenge the capitalistic

oppressor.

There is a Republican party, the dominant capitalistic party of this time, the party that has its representative in the White House, the party that dominates both branches of congress, the party that controls the supreme court, the party that absolutely controls the press, the party that is absolutely in power in every department of our activity. In consequence we adjourned before the time of adjournment because it dare not face, but has merely postponed, the inevitable.

There is a Democratic party, a party that has not stock enough left to proclaim its own bankruptcy, an expiring party that stands upon the crumbling foundation of a dying class, a party that can't unite, a party that its leading holy was a dynoning for the dying class, a party that can't unite, a party that is looking backward and hoping for the resurrection of the men who gave it inspiration a century ago; a party that is trying to vitalize itself by its ghosts. Thomas Jefferson would scorn to enter a Democratic convention. He would have as little busmess there as Abraham Lincoln would have among the Republicans. If they were living they would be delegates to the convention. The Socialist party meets these two parties face to face without the semblance of apo logy, throws down the gage of battle, de-clares there is but one solution of the labor problem, that is by the complete overthrow of

the capitalistic system.

You have honored me in the magnitude of the task you have thrust upon me. I can simply say that obedient to your call I re-spond. I will serve you to the limit of my capacity. I will bear the standard aloft where the battle waxes fiercest. I shall not hesitate as the opportunity comes to me to voice the emancipating gospel of the Socialist movement. I shall be heard in the coming compaign as often, as decidedly, as revolutionarily, as uncompromisingly, as my ability, my strength and fidelity to the movement permit. I realize that for the first time in the history of ages there is a working class movement. On this ocassion above all others, my comrades, we are appealing to ourselves, are bestirring ourselves, we are arous ing the working class, the class that through all the ages has been oppressed, crushed, and has suffered, for the one reason that this class has lost the consciousness of the power that would get it the mastery of the world. The most hopeful sign of the times is that the man of this class is waking up, and when through the agency of the Socialist movement he becomes completely conscious of that power, he will overthrow the capitalistic system. To consecrate my small power to can hope only to do my part so well my comrades, that when the final verdict is rendered, will say. "He was not a candidate for president, he did not aspire to hold office, but he did not aspire to hold office, but he did not aspire to hold office, but he did not aspire to hold office. he did prove himself worthy to be a member of the Socialist party. He has a right to a place in the international movement of the world." I thank you from the depths of my place in the international movement of the world." I thank you from the depths of my heart for your confidence. We shall meet again, we shall meet often, and when we meet finally, it shall be to ratify the coming of the Socialist republic. (Tremendous cheering and long continued applause.)

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THE VANGUARD PRESS, Green Bay, Wis.

MINNESOTA STATE NEWS

(The Secretaries of Locals in Minnesota are requested to send in brief items on interest concerning the work in their localities, Address, The Vanguard, 45 S. 4th, St., Minneapolis, Minn. or Green Bay, Wis.)

Comrade Kirkpatrick, who has been at work during the past month in the southern part of the state, is doing effective service. He is a fine speaker, a capable organizer, and the cause is certain to be greatly advanced by his efforts.

Comrade Thompson reports remarkably successful meetings everywhere with large additions to the membership and the formation of county organizations in preparation for the fall campaign.

After putting in another busy month with gratifying results, Comrade Klein attended the Chicago Convention as delegate and from there went on a trip east. He will visit Cincinnati, Buffalo, Troy, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, returning to take up his work again in June.

The organizers report that THE VANGUARD is proving most valuable in the movement. Many Comrades are at work getting up clubs declaring it the best thing they have ever used for propaganda.

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Secretary Nash was too busy with office work to attend the National Convention.

Granite Falls-Comrade Klein had splendid meetings here and organized a fine local.

Ortonville-Opera House was filled at Klein's meeting which resulted in a good local being organized. Comrade Crawley is a hustler for the cause and Ortonville is on the Socialist map for good.

Graceville—The largest crowd ever known to attend any political meeting here was that which turned out to hear Organizer Klein when he spoke recently and formed a good local.

Moorhead—Klein's meeting here resulted in a solid local and preparations for a county organization. F. W. Bosshard is a "worker."

Forgus Falls—We have an active local here, also two Socialist papers, one English and one Norwegian. A county ticket will be nominated F. W. Downing is a tower of strength to the movement.

Willmar—The meetings here by Comrade Klein were a success. Good local, Comrade Gilbertson keeps everlasting at it and the cause grows steadily stronger.

Duluth—There are now three branches in Duluth,—English. Finnish and Polish—All in promising condition. Three meetings held by Comrade Thompson recently were remarkably well attended and the lectures widely reported in all the capitalistic papers.

Two Harbors—The local doubed its membership during the Thompson meetings. The Socialists declare that they have the largest political meetings ever held in their city. The interest and enthusiam is magnificent.

Carlton Co.—A complete county organization has been perfected here. The comrades from Wrenshall, Scanlon and Carlton met on April 17. A county Central Committee was elected as follows:—Chairman, Dr. O. S. Watkins; Sec'y, H. Foxton, Box 113, Carlton; Chas. Slickman, T. O. Sanby, C. J. Brathbery Ed. Anderson, and Thos. Halliday. Address all communications to H. Foxton, Box 113, Carlton; Carlton.

Harmony and enthusiam were the characteristics of the convention. It was decided that Comrade Kirkpatrick should be engaged in the county for two full weeks,—as't was found that there were open doors in every direction. The comrades believe that one of the possibilities of next fall is to carry Carlton Co.

Wrenshall—The Socialists have every thing their own way at Wrenshall They hold all the offices and have nearly 75 percent of the vote. There is no hall large enough to hold the audiences that gather at the meetings. Music forms a very delightful part of their programs.

Scanion—Notwithstanding adverse conditions there is a very determined movement here. The comrades are hard workers and splendid meetings are held. One of the comrades has just built a hall which will be a sort of home for the Socialists hereafter.

Grand Rapids—Altho organized but a short time our Socialist local sold tickets to the Thompson meetings and filled the hall the first night. Watch us grow!

Acksley—Comrade Thompson spoke here Saturday and Sunday April 23—24. At the close of the Sunday afternoon meeting a local of 21 members was formed, dues paid for the current 3 months and everything put in line for a great work. In the evening at the invitation of the Congregational minister of the place Comrade Thompson spoke in the church which was packed,

Pequot—This little place claims the largest local in the state outside of Minneapolis—47 dues paying members. However, Carlton local will pay this month on 51, we understand. Pepuot declares she will do even better. At this point all but one or two of the members are farmers. The secretary J. S. Schaffer was a black-listed A. R. U. man.

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We must now adopt one of two courses, namely, throw our columns open to all kinds of advertising or adhere strictly to a subscription rate of 50c; and 40c in clubs of four or more. We unhesitatingly decide upon the latter course and we believe our decision will meet with the general approval of our readers. THE VANGUARD is well worth 50c a year and we are persuaded that our subscribers would much prefer paying this than have our pages disfigured with unsavory announcements.

To give our workers a fair chance to secure new names at the 25c rate, however, we will hold to it for one month longer.

July 1, the higher price will go into effect.

We have still on hand a supply of Postal Subscription cards at 25c which may be had at the old rate till the supply is exhausted. These may be purchased now and will be good for yearly subscriptions at any time either before or after July 1. But beginning July 1 the price of Postal Subscription cards will be 40c in lots of four or more. This will be our lowest club rate. Those who wish to take advantage of the present 25c rate should act promptly.

The following were the delegates elected by referendum from Wisconsin to the National Convention:

Victor L. Berger, W. Gaylord, E. H. Thomas, H. J. Ammann, F. Heath, E. Seidel, J. W. Born, F. Brockhausen, R. O. Stoll, J. Hunger and J. M. A. Spence.

The alternates were Ira Cross, E. T. Melms H. Tuttle, H. Luther, W. A. Arnold, F. J. Weber, H. W. Bistorius, W. H. Phelps, W. Kaufman R. Elsner and Dr. W. C. Young.

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"We're beaten back in many a fray, Yet newer strength we borrow, And where the vanguard camps today, The rear shall rest tomorrow.

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., JUNE, 1904.

NO. 10

There are two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and they will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other is the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it de-It is the same spirit which says, "You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it." No maiter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor or from a race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrvnnical principle. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Commenting on recent Socialist clopedia Britannica. Her favored sisapplied in microscopic experiments, with the poor, do they not?" the government of a State as impor- not, my dear woman, and if you tant as Saxony. There is no parallel would read these books you haveto it in the history of civilization." Of course not. And the phenomenon would find out what Socialism is. I cation of which increases with its steady increase in numbers, is the most stupendous fact in the political annals of mankind and is pregnant with far-reaching results. The contrast between the growing strength and solidarity of this world-movement on the one hand, and the quarrels and jealousies of capitalist parties on the other, is in itself a prophecy in which is set forth the triumph of Socialism and the doom of copitalism.

comrades, who is the mother of four expose their ignorance by confusing little children, takes in washing to earn money to buy literature to help not honest enough to consult a standspread the light. Not long ago, while at work for a rich society woman, she be in order to give here a definition, was dusting the volumes of the Ency- which our readers may pass on, from

successes in Europe, the Literary Reter of the leisure class upbraided her view savs: "Hitherto Socialism has for being a Socialist., "Why," said heen a theory. It has been debated her "educated" employer, "your Soby doctrinaires; it has sometimes been cialists want the rich to divide up but never until now has it captured she of the toil replied, "certainly books which we cannot afford-you of an international political party, will send you some literature." And already composed of 9,000,000 of work- this is the glory and strength of the ing people, the solidarity and unifica- Socialist movement—intelligence and self-sacrifice. There are thousands of women of the working class accepting the burdens of multiplied motherhood and doing the hard and dirty work of their sheltered sisters, yet devoting their thought and energies to the cause of humanity that by their aid the kingdom of fraternity and justice may become a reality.

As there are still quite a number of "educated" people who do not know The wife of one of our Socialist what Socialism is, who continue to it with "dividing up," and who are ard authority on the subject, it may page 206.

theory is based on the historical as- ING lution for centuries has gradually OWNERS!" been to exclude the producing classes from the possession of land and capital and to establish a new subjection, the subjection of workers who depend entirely upon precarious wage labor. The Socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are the property of private individuals freely struggling for increase of wealth) leads inevitably to social and economic anarchy. to the degradation of the working man and his family, to the growth of vice and idleness among the wealthy classes and their dependents, to bad and inartistic workmanship and to adulteration in all its forms; and that it is tending more and more to separate society into two classes-wealthy millionaires confronted with an enormous mass of proletarians-the issue out of which must be Socialism or social ruin. To avoid these ends and to secure a more equitable distribution of means and appliances of happiness, the Socialist proposes that land and capital, which are the requisites of labor and the sources of all wealth and culture, should become the property of society and be managed by it for the general good."

Colorado situation squarely when it book on "The Ancient Lowly," Prof. says: "Before the daily newspapers Nitti's "Catholic Socialism," the anattempt to throw the blame for the cient manuscripts, the inscriptions Independence dynamiting upon union that the Christian laborers of the first men let them print the facts, which centuries carved on the walls of the they suppressed, that the explosions catacombs of Rome, the engravings at the Sun and Moon mine, the Vindi- on the buried marble of Pompeii,-

the Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 22, ing of the F. & C. C. train-which crimes were also laid at the doors of "The central aim of Socialism is to the miners, who were bullied by the terminate the divorce of the workers militia, thrown into 'bull-pens' or defrom the natural sources of subsist- ported from their homes - WERE ence and of culture. The Socialistic PROVEN IN THE COURTS AS BE-THE WORK OF THE sertion that the course of social evo- PORTED THUGS OF THE MINE-

SOCIALISTS STUDYING ABOUT JESUS.

One of the most interesting things occuring in the Socialist movement just now is the persistent and careful study and investigation that is being made by Socialists of the times and the teachings of Jesus. It has been claimed that Socialism is hostile to Christianity, and it is constantly asserted that Jesus had nothing to say about social and economic problems. This has driven some of the Socialists to investigate the matter and they have gone at the task with the evident faith that Jesus could not by any fair interpretation be held to be- hos-With charactertile to Socialism. istic zeal and thoroughness the beginnings of this study of the times of Christ have already been made. And some most interesting matter is being brought to light. The condition of the laborers at the time of Christ, the labor unions of that time, the Christian communion, and the relation of the unions to the struggles. of the Christians. Christ's open deof the rich and unciation espousal of the cause of the poor,all these and many more interesting The Cleveland Citizen hits off the facts are being investigated. Ward's cator mine and the attempted wreck- all these are being brought into court

and made to testify as to whether or atrocious crimes against the rights not the carpenter of Nazareth and his of individuals. thought and purpose belongs to the capitalist class or to the laboring ity, the hired militia of these great class.

The associate editor of the Appeal to Reason has just issued a striking pamphlet on "The Political Economy of Jesus." The Collectivist Society of New York has a pamphlet on "The Socialism of Jesus," and we know of others that are in preparation. All of these seek only to call attention to the social message of Jesus and the economic significance of the facts surrounding the early

phases of Christianity.

Some years ago there was an expression going the rounds of the religious press, "Back to Jesus." Some one changed it to "On to Jesus!" Whichever is right it seems now that the Socialists are the ones who are really going back to Jesus with the determination of finding just what it was that he stood for. When this is fully known we will be better able to judge whether his followers should be the friends or the enemies of Socialism. In our minds there has never been a doubt. To us long ago Socialism became the logic of Christianity.

COLOR ADO.

THE VANGUARD deplores the Colorado situation but sees no hope for permanent industrial peace save in abolition of wage slavery. stronger evidence do the people want to prove that the present system is anarchistic? The Detroit Times states the case fairly as follows:,

"The most surprising thing about the dynamiting of a miners' train in Colorado and the killing of a number of miners is that it did not take place

earlier.

"With a degraded state militiadegraded because it descended from a public organization paid by the state to a private organization paid by the mine-owners - these mineowners and politicians have committed in the name of the law, the most worst is not yet to come."

"Without a shadow of legal authorcorporate interests went at night to the homes of peaceable citizens, hammered on the doors with their musket-stocks and ordered the heads of families to 'get work'-surrender to the mine-owners-before 10 o'clock the next morning, or get out of town.

"In short, there has been an aggravated type of capitalistic anarchy in. Colorado for months-a kind of anarchy in which the state militia has been used as the private tool of selfish, law-defying private interests and in which the most sacred rights guaranteed to individuals by the constitution have been arbitrarily and

insolently denied.

"Since the Western Federation of Miners has from the first exercised the greatest caution to prevent any of its members from resorting to violence, it would not be surprising to learn that the mine-owners themselves had hired somebody to blow up the train.

"Taking the view of their worst enemies and saving for the moment that it was union men who exploded the dynamite underneath the railroad station platform where so many lives were lost, is it to be wondered at that the men have been goaded to

the verge of desperation?

"Let any law-abiding citizen imagope for ine himself arrested and imprisoned ave in without process or trial; imagine What himself dragged away from family, want friends and business; imagine himself deprived of the commonest rights of civilized countries by the unre-strained authority of an irresponsible militia, and let him say, if he can, that thoughts of bloodshed would not arise in his own heart.

"The corporate interests of Colorado have made of the state one vast tinder box and upon their heads will be the responsibility for any unlawful acts that may come from their

own lawlessness.

"And upon their heads is the blood of the men who were blown to pieces

at Independence.

"The state is now reaping what its anarchistic corporations have sown; and it will indeed be fortunate if the

TEARS THE COST

Hear then my tale: Dost know these shining dames Who toil not, neither do they spin? Their names Spell gold—yet tears I see on every thread Of costly clothing; by their side the dead I smell who died to weave the cloth! Canst tell Them from the lilies of the field? 'Tis well! Or in the still hours of the night canst tell The sobs of the children from the dreadful noise Machines make, when—deprived of childhood's toys—The little ones in factories tall stand guard O'er flying wheels, and thru the night work hard. Robbed of their sleep and play? Worse still, O God! Where daylight slants upon the factory floor And frightened children crowd around the door—A pretty child has slipped upon the stair And others pressing forward crush her there!

In panic all;
The fire-bells call

Crazed mothers wildly weeping—
And ladies languidly come idly creeping—
To stare unmoved with cold and curious eye
On baby faces upturned to the sky—
As in the sunlight of a blackened world
Around their feet the little forms lie curled—

Those winsome feet In slippers neat Of those who dance on Easy Street While children die!

CAROLINE PEMBERTON

DEBS AND HANFORD

The Law Has No Choice

HAVE listened till you are done. I have heard all that you have had to say against Debs and against Hanford. I understand you. I understand your opposition. I understand your fears. I know why your flesh creeps when I spell their names. I admit a good deal. I admit that they are dangerous syllables. That they spell strange things that they do not spell. That all that Debs means is not compassed in the orthography of his name. That Hanford's verbal fixtures may not be worth much, but that his spiritual good will is a great fortune. I see easily enough why you shudder. It is true that these men do not mean the things you think they mean. But they mean fateful things. They come loaded with ominous precept and peremptory practice. Wars are insignificant in the scale as weighed against the message they deliver. They come conserving an impetus more powerful than war. They come with the power to prevent war. So you see I am willing to concede the gravity of their debut. But I hurry forward to welcome what you hurry backward to avoid. What is the significance of my advance? What is the significance of your retreat?

You say that you see only two mortal men nominated for office. That you see a platform built for these men to stand on. If that was all there was to it you would need to worry. The contingency would not be threatening. But you instinctively divine what you cannot consciously interpret.

Debs is all right. Hanford is all right. They are cast for big returns. Taste the sap of the tree. Smell the leaf of the rose. Mix the odor of appetizing foods with the flavor of satisfying flowers. That is the way to get acquainted with I ebs. With Hanford. They come bidding for the prizes of love. Do not doubt them. But after you have entered up all just credits to their accounts go back to your soul and ask yourself where the rest of the credits belong.

For after all, Debs and Hanford are not candidates. A lot of men collected together at Chicago. They went through the routine of passing a platform and nominating candidates for office. Yet these candidates and this platform were only symptoms. The superficial evidence. A taking account of stock rather than the creation of wealth. It was not really any particular any man or men who went to Chicago. It was a law that went to Chicago and asserted itself. A law of historic life. That law is this moment running for office. Hanford and Debs stand aside. The law is recognized. That is why Debs and Hanford are dangerous. They are not in themselves the start or finish of anything. They are incidents in the fulfillment of a law. You could avoid Debs. You could dodge or down Hanford. But the law imposes an inexorable decree. What the law says is the only say. You can stop the mouth of the man who tells you about the tempest. But you cannot stop the tempest. The historian may be bribed or gagged. But events will proceed. I am never overawed by the personal appeal. The natural laws awe me. Here is the law made manifest. Manifest in Debs and Hanford. You can defeat the ticket but you cannot defeat the law.

The process will be bitter. But the result will be sweet. You will have to take Debs and Hanford not only for all they are but for all they mean. You have got to take the whole dose. Not necessarily at the ballot box this year or next year. But sometime. Somehow. For they came to fulfill the law. And the law will be fulfilled. Whatever stands in the way the law will be fulfilled. The time has come for the celebration of the settlement of the larger new world. The new world that Columbus discovered was only a continent of land and water. But the new world of this more impressive discovery is a continent of souls. Debs happened to be around and the law said to Debs: I choose you as the immediate instrument of my decision. And Hanford happened to be around and the law said to Hanford: I choose you, too. And so we have Debs and Hanford. Not chosen for arrogant administration. Chosen for humble service. Any one else might have been standing around and been chosen. You, for instance, whoever you are. But the job was given to these men. So the law for a few days will be spelled in their names. They will letter and tell the law. They will tally its spirit. We will love the men. But we will remember the law. We will drink from the cup they put to our lips. But we will remember the spring from which the water was drawn. We will shake hands with these men. But we will feel in their palms the sacred touch of the law. If Debs and Hanford were only Debs and Hanford we would not rest easy on our beds. But they are the law. And we know the law will remain the law whatever becomes of single men. The men may go into pawn. They may be blown up by a boiler. They may go to war and be killed. But the law survives all disaster. We are the asserters of a law. We do not enact it. We fulfill it. We enforce it. Debs is a key for the lock. But he is not the lock. And any man may any time be that key. And no man can refuse to be that key. And no man can make himself that key. He can only wait and serve. Just as Debs has long waited and always served. Just as Hanford has waited patiently and heroically served.

A man said to me yesterday: Debs is a menace. And I answered: He is. A man said to another man: We will get rid of Debs. And the other man answered: But you will not in that way get rid of the menace. You cannot repeal the law by repealing Debs. Debs is a significant fact in himself. But he is more significant fact as the exposition of a law. Do you imagine that the Chicago convention was reached by the railroad and the candidates were chosen by votes? That would be a false supposition. convention was reached by law and the candidates were chosen by law. You think that Chicago had something extra particular to do with the convention. Chicago could just as well nave been any other place in the latitude and longitude of history. You suspect that I am giving rather accidental significance to Debs and Hanford? Not a bit of it. The personal significance would be the accident. Nothing is less like accident than the backgrounds I attribute to the convention. You suspect that I am trying to rob two good men of their genius? Not a bit of it. I, too honor the good men. I, too, admit their genius. But the best man could do nothing without the virtue of the law. The greatest genius could do nothing without the virtue of the law. The greatest genius could do nothing without the intelligence of the law. Indeed what is goodness and genius? The best man, the brightest man, is the man who lives closest to the law. Debs lives very close to the law. Hanford lives very close to the law. warm their winters next the law. They cool their tropic rigors against the law. That is why they are dangerous men to the lawless. That is why they are safe men to those who observe the law. That is why the Chicago convention is a serious fact. It knew enough to toast its toes at the hearthstone. It did not wander away from the law. It stayed right home with the law. You make a big fuss about your orthodoxies. Let me tell you that there are no orthodoxies. There is one orthodoxy. Only one, Social justice. That is the only orthodoxy. There are not many laws. There is one law. Only one. Debs has known enough to get well acquainted with that law. To get on its soft side. Hanford spends every day he lives with that law. The laws have no use for him. He has no use for the laws. But the law is his bosom friend. The law makes him its confidant. Laws may be or may not be. But the law has no choice. Debs may be or may not be. But the law has no choice. Hanford may or may not be. The Chicago convention. The platform. Such things may be or may not be. But the law has no choice. The beautiful law has no choice.

HORACE TRAUBEL.

If you are not already a Socialist, lay aside all prejudice and reason with yourself on the proposition of Socialism, as the Socialist movement is now acknowledged to be the one to next take its place as a great political power.

THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM

THE recent National Convention at Chicago was a sort of barometer which revealed the condition and growth of the Socialist movement in America. And certainly to every thoughtful student of the social forces of the country the results are most gratifying. Many things that have hitherto been unsettled and therefore have been points of dispute and of more or less misunderstanding have been now practically and quite satisfactorily settled.

In the first place the Convention revealed a much greater harmony and unity than was expected by most of the Socialists themselves. While there were decided differences, of course, and almost intense struggle over many matters, yet when each item came to vote there was practical harmony and in many cases even unanimity. This came almost as a surprise to the comrades themselves, and with it the conviction has seized the Socialist movement of America that we are as never before a united, harmonious, solid phalanx in the battle for the Socialist ideals. This, to say the least, is very encouraging.

Farthermore, it has been decided that the Socialist Party shall go before the people with a program, with what has been called "immediate demands." For some time and in some quarters there has been a demand for elimination of this part of the Socialist Platform. No one knew just how wide-spread this effort was, and the realization of the seriousness of such an action, if taken, awakened considerable apprehension on the part of the comrades. Many had frankly and openly advocated the elimination of the so called "demands." Some had gotten the idea that to do so would be more "scientific" and more "revolutionary," altho, as a matter of fact, quite the opposite is true. The Socialist Party of Germany, and indeed of practically all parts of the world, have exactly the "demands" which these comrades wanted to strike out. But the pleasant surprise came when after several days of debate upon preliminaries, and from committees as representative as could possibly have been chosen, there came a practically unanimous endorsement of the whole list of "demands" or, more properly speaking, of a program in the platform.

The same gratifying result came in the reported "State and Municipal Program." The faults of a few comrades who had given too much attention and emphasis to the ideas of municipal problems and to public ownership had led many of the comrades to a very decided error in the opposite direction. It became the habit in some quarters to scorn the whole subject. In this situation a Socialist speaker and organizer sometimes found it perilous to his reputation to know, much more to say anything about "municipal ownership," and the many very interesting and intricate municipal problems that are at the present time troubling the minds of thousands of sincere people in the country and for which the Socialists alone have the key. This was a very unfortunate and difficult situation. The adoption of a Municipal and State Program at once raises the Party to the dignity and power of an intelligent position on these questions, endorses the study of these problems and sanctions the efforts of those who attempt to apply the Socialist philosophy to the cities where it is most needed, and where it is first to be put to the test.

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very decided step in advance and is doubly encouraging because it shows the councils of the Party to be in the hands of resolute comrades who are determined to make their way with a great ideal thru the perplexities of present difficulties and practical problems to the realization of a mighty purpose. The Co-operative Commonwealth, which is the so-called "revolutionary" ideal of the Socialists, is in the distance. It is safe to say that thousands who are not Socialists will concede the power, the beauty and the scientific value of this "revolutionary" ideal of Socialism. But there is at this point a very pertinent and perfectly reasonable question in the minds of both the Socialist and the non-socialist, viz., Will the Socialist Party, or can the Socialist Party or the Socialist philosophy take us from where we are here, under capitalism, thru the multitude of perplexing problems over into yonder ideal of social goodness? That question cannot be answered by a wise look, a wage of the head or the vociferous declamation of revolutionary phrases. That is a question for thoughtful, careful thorough and, if necessary, elaborate reply. Shall that answer be given? The Socialist Party of America thru it representatives at Chicago has said emphatically: It shall. And it has already given forth its answer for the present. Perhaps, we should say, an attempted answer, and then it has said, We say this now: we will revise our answer from time to time, as our knowledge and experience increases our ability to answer and as fast and as far as the general , fund of knowledge will permit. This is an immense gain for the Party in power, in appeal and in dignity in the face of the problems we confront.

Another very important matter settled by the convention was making the appeal of Socialism as wide as human need. The platform states, "we appeal to ALL the workers of America." Heretofore among some Socialists and even in some Socialist platforms the appeal has been to the "wage workers." There has often been a tendency to imply at least that any one who appealed to any other that the "wage-worker" was not quite orthodox. Some have not wanted us to appeal to the farmer. Some have seemed to feel that the appeal should be principally to the "trades union worker." But now our appeal is to be to ALL WORKERS, and that includes all who perform a useful service and excludes only those who live by reason of their ownership of means of production or distribution. This makes it perfectly in order henceforth for the Socialist worker to appeal to any and all classes of workers. But this is not all. The platform farther states: "we appeal to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause," etc., which certainly justifies an appeal to any one without regard to his occupation or position in life. Henceforth the Socialist worker may not be criticised for addressing himself to any class whatsoever so long as his appeal to them is an appeal far Socialism. And this is as it should be. There is no one that knows anything about Socialism that does not know that Socialism is a working class movement, that that is the class that should, and as a rule does respond to that appeal. But on the other hand it is not always the wage-worker that may be most easily enlisted, and certainly he is not the only one that has been in the front ranks of the Socialist movement of the world. Fully recognizing the working-class basis of the Socialist movement we henceforth shall welcome to our ranks any and all who will accept Socialism and work in the ranks for Socialism.

These are perhaps only a few of the matters that came up at the recent convention that indicate a most decided and encouraging advance on the part of the Socialist Party. With this condition within the party, and in its policy, certainly every thoughtful and loyal worker will go to his task with a new joy and enthusiasm.

CARL D. THOMPSON.

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

It is a fundamental principle of ist. Therefore, as profits must come political economy that all capital out of labor, it follows that the laborand all wealth are produced by labor er must surrender a part of the probestowed on raw material through duct of his labor in order to make machines and tools. Raw material is profits possible. The laborer must, useless until it is made fit for use. therefore, pay for the privilege of The natural deposits contained in the working by surrending a part of that mines and in the soil, are not wealth which he produces. He can, thereuntil they have been extracted from fore, make no profits for himself. the earth and made available for use. Only the owning class can make pro-Even machines and tools are useless duts. Commericalism, or capitalism things without labor. They must be is therefore, like a sponge, continual-used in order to be of value. Capital ly absorbing the product of labor. is unproductive without labor. Hence Labor is all the time bringing the all wealth is the result of labor.

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À: 1 sources of wealth and the machinery of production and distribution on the owning class. Shakespeare put tion. into the mouth of Shylock true social-

ship of the sources of sustenance force of human need. A man must and from the means to obtain that have coal, but he cannot get it unless sustenance, their labor and themselves are the property of those owning those sources and means, and transports it, and to all the dealers they can live only as they are perwho handle it. He must have flour, but he cannot get it unless he cannot get it unless he are not the cannot get it unless he are not get it unless he ar mitted to live by their owners.

grist to the capitalistic mill, but in-It is a fundamental principle of So-stead of getting the grist after it is cialism that when some men own the ground, the mill owner gets it and labor gets only the toll.

The result of all this is that vast which all must depend for their sus- streams of wealth are continually tenance and by means of which they flowing from the laboring class must secure that sustenance, all who through the channel of the machine do not own those sources and that to the nominal owners of the machine, machinery are absolutely dependent who are the primary exploiters. From on those who do own them, for their them it goes, in large part, to the sustenance. In other words, the class real owners, the security holders. which owns the sources and machin- The owning class is thereby more ery, also own the non-owning class. and more surfeited and the laboring The non-owning class are slaves to class is kept in its dependent condi-

Socialists, therefore, say that istic doctrine when he said, "You capitalism is an impersonal vampire take my house when you do take the which is continually sucking the life prop that doth sustain my house. blood of those who produce wealth; You take my life when you do take that it is a robber, because it takes the means whereby I live." by force that for which it gives no As men must work in order to live, equivalent in return, namely, the when they are divorced from owner-profit. The force employed is the but he cannot get it unless he pays a Commericalism is dependent on series of profits to the miller and to profits for its existence. Without all who handle the flour. So with profits it would at once cease to ex- clothing and everything else which he must have. No force in the world and night, tending looms, and keep is more potent than the force of them awake by shaking them and italism in applying that force.

dustries. Trade has no other balance in our country. This made it a system of war terests, so as to save cost. Those who these classes. Does the manufacturer or the merchant or other busines, were frozen out as far as possible and monopoly has now largely Ishe not a slave to his bank, his land taken the place of competition, and lord and other creditors? Is he not, all the time, in danger of being outmense saving to the manufacturer and distributor and, in some degree, to the consumer. Few realize the cost of advertising wares and the adcost of advertising wares and the ad-To put it in another way, this expense would, each year, pay the national debt of this government

human need, and no Nero was ever throwing water on them, and grind more cruelly relentless than is cap-their lives into profits until their lives become extinct, which is, on an The regulator relied on to control average, about 4 years. Nor are trade and to keep profits within these cotton mills the only sinners of limits, was competition, that is mu- this sort. The same is true, to a less tual strife between those in like in- or equal extent, in other industries

The criticism which Socialists make and waste. Each competitor fought of the capitalistic system is that beto get all the trade he could, often at sides bring a system of waste, it is a great cost. All advertised; all sent system of exacting plunder, entailing their agents to sell goods; all sought economic hardship and servitude on the cheapest market in which to buy. the majority of men, especially on The cost of this warfare proved to be those who produce the wealth and so great that business managers be- on the sick and unfortunate who are gan to make trade agreements as to not able to protect themselves. Moreprices and to combine hostile in- over, this servitude is not limited to terests, so as to save cost. Those who these classes. Does the manufac-

The Socialists say that business, ditional burden it places on those who when analyzed to it elementary princonsume goods, by increase of price. ciple, is extortion pure and simple.be. The annual cost of advertising goods, cause it compels the one who is in including the salaries and expenses need, to contribute a profit to the of commerical travelers, has, in this one who has what he needs, in addiexceeded the aggregate tion to the cost to him who has the value of the annual crop of wheat, thing needed. They say that it is oats, corn, rye, barley and flax. This wrong, because it must have laws, helps us to realize the amount of this courts, sheriffs, and the whole power government including arnies to protect it. They say that it is wrong, because its very spirit and foundation and leave a large sum for the running principle is contention and strife, expense of this government. While with force to uphold the strongest in a few industries this cost has been and most fortunate party; that it reduced, the aggregate cost of ad-makes men unjust to other men; that vertising is still as great as ever. it begets stealing and nearly all the Nor is this waste confined to this vast other crimes. They say that no proproperty loss. Commercialism an- fit can be justified, because the profitnually devours the lives of men, wom-en and children in great numbers, fit. If it should be said that the trader besides wrecking the morals of many spends his time and devotes his enbesides wrecking the morals of many more. The highwayman will seldom ergy to his business, the answer would be that the burglar and highwayman does not spare children. Some of our southern states, at the demand of owners of cotton mills, have repealed footing with the ordinary business their laws against the employment of child labor and, as a result, those face, whose weapons are a sand bag mills employ children in large numbers, some as young as 6 years, and false keys and dynamite; who lurks compel them to work long hours, day

classed with the trader who openly be injured by this change? This follows a custom everywhere recog-earth produces enough for all and with nized as legal and proper, although a sane system wherein the billions of that custom be morally wrong. From dollars, now wasted, shall be saved, the Socialist's standpoint, however, it it can, with little extra labor, be is no more right to take property made to yield much more than now-from another by the force of human What does any man need more than need, than it is to take property from another by physcial force or by stealth. The suffering caused by exactions is often more intense and more killing than the physcial suffer-

The Socialists say that every man, by virtue of his being a man. is entitled to the privilege of working and of having the product of his work, less what is needed to rear and educate the young and to care for the old, the sick and the disabled, and less what is required to maintain roads, parks, libraries, schools and all other institutions necessary for society, including all machinery and tools of production and distribution, needed to provide for the requirements of every member of society, and that he is entitled to this product, without permission or hindrance of any other man or set of men; that no man has of that owner to the negro, and the any right to compel any other man to judge was asked to restore possession support him.

The statement so often made by the wilfully ignorant, that Socialists want the rich to divide up with the poor is just the reverse of the truth. What they want is to stop said that if such a bill of sale could the rich from compelling the poor to be produced, he would restore the divide up with them. The rich can slave otherwise, he would not. The keep all they have, except land title of the world owners is now chalmachinery and tools, and these they lenged and they must show a title can own conjointly with the others.

How then can this be accomplished and how can Socialism be established? The answer is: Restore men to their rightful, their God-given heritage. Let all men have the earth which was given to all men and not to some men: let all men have the machinery and tools of production and distribution which labor has made, to be used for the common good of every one who is willing to work for the common good. Let them collectively own the earth and these tools and this mabasis; let waste be eliminated to the condition that you pay me a profit"; utmost degree, and let men have according to their labor. What is there a place to live only on condition that wrong with this demand? Who will you pay me a profit", and by the bond

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enough? What right have the coal barons to a profit on all the coal which nature has stored up in the earth? What right have they to say to their fellows "You cannot have coal ing caused by the blow inflicted by to cook your food and keep you warm, the burglar or highwayman. unless you contribute profits to us?" unless you contribute profits to us?" What right has a man to say to a sick fellow man. "You cannot have the benefit of medicinal springs, which Nature has produced, unless you pay me for the privilege," But you may say that if he owns the springs, he can make this demand. Who gave him exclusive title to these springs?

Some years ago, in the state of Vermont, a negro, who had escaped from his master in the South, was brought before a judge of that state by his captor and claimed by a south-ern owner as his property. Bills of sale were produced showing the title of the negro to his owner under the fugitive slave law. After the judge had heard all the evidence produced he asked if this owner could show a bill of sale from the Almighty, and greater than any, man-given title inorder to maintain their claim to own ership of the world and of human beings thereon. The indictment of the capitalistic system has been found and returned to the tribunal of the human conscience. where all questions of right are tried, and that system must face the trial.

A system which compels every child who is born into the world, as soon as he reaches the portals of life, to be met by one profit-taker who says to him, "You can have food only on conchinery, and collectively use them, dition that you pay me a profit on it"; not for profits, but for comforts. Let by another profit-taker who says to society organize itself on a fraternal him, "You can have clothing only on

holder who smiles and says, "I am very glad to see you, because I have a lien on this country and on all the people in it, so the more people there are, the better my claim. My lien is for money advanced for public improvements and to maintain wars and binds not only the whole country and all property in it, but also all people now living in it and that are after-wards born, until my claim is paid; so I must inform you that you can live in this country only on condition that you assist in paying me my interest and my principal"—I say that such a system cannot stand the test of right before the tribunal of human conscience. A system that enslaves the living is bad enough, but a system that imposes servitude on the unborn is intolerable.

HAZEN M. PARKER.

No just man has anything to fear from Socialism. If it is a dream not to be realized, it will not hurt either the oppressor or the oppressed. If it is to be realized, it cannot be realized until the majority of the people know that Socialism will not take any man's rights away from him, but will give every man a chance to enjoy his rights. Objections to Socialism come either from special privilege, treachery or honest lack of understanding of this subject.—WORKER'S GAZETTE.

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WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M. Chicago.

Woman's National Socialist Union every place where there is a strong Convention (continued).

The next motion offered was:

Moved, That Socialist women's clubs derive benefit by affiliation with

a national organization.

Regarding this there was a surpris-Hazlett thought it possible that women would make mistakes in some of their ideas and these mistakes be more serious in a national organization than in merely locals ones, but she admitted that she had known . mistakes to be made by Locals composed wholly of men.

Lucinda Chandler-one of the dearest old ladies in the convention (if one may be pardoned for thus singling out an individual for comment)believed the national organization will aid women and that it is a factor

in uplifting them.

Luella Kraybell said: "There is a vast amount of work that must be done for Socialism which can only be done by women." She followed this assertion with a strong plea for wom-

en to stand together. Comrades J. Stitt Wilson and Walter Thomas Mills believed the national organization a power for good. Com-rade Turner of Kansas City does not believe in any separate organization of women, but acknowledged that he not given the matter much

thought.

had

The chief reasons advanced against the national organization were: fear that it might be governed by a few and used for selfish ends; the possibility that it might be antagonistic to the political organization; the fear that women who would otherwise join the party organization would be content to work only in the Union

affimatives showed that as the slightest act of the Natl. Com is subject to referendum, the members as a whole will always rule: that instead of being antagonistic to the party the Union has worked for it; that in

Union, the party Local had lost its prejudice and come to approve of the woman's organization. points for the affirmative were: every thing which can be said for 'in favor of co-operative work as opposed to individualistic can be said for the ing difference of opinion. Ida Crouch national organization as contrasted with scattered local efforts. travelling library system could not or would not be carried on by small clubs: the exchange of information as to conditions in different localities is more readily made by medium of Natl. Union: small bodies of women who are new to the study of Socialism are advised and aided by the Natl.: the Natl. serves as a connecting link between scattered efforts, binding all together, adding to the enthusiasm of small clubs which work in places where they are at a disadvantage because of environment.

The vote on this motion showed only three pegative votes, despite the

long argument.

Saturday morning there was another small audience. The President called the session to order and Anna Ferry Smith was elected chairman for the day.

Moved: That we need a clear definition of what is meant in Art. II of our constitution by "endorses the principles of Socialisn," as many southern women are staying out of the Union because they construe this as pledging them to associate with negroes and (while they believe in a Co-operative Commonwealth and in industrial equality for all races) they are unwilling to accept colored folk as social equals.

The discussion following the introduction of this motion probably ranked third in order of interest in As against these objections, the the entire convention. In behalf of the southern comrades who had not heard it, the Pres. gave a brief summary of actual conditions concerning relations of the races in some parts of the south, giving facts as opposed theories. The arguments were earn

est, on both sides of the question, ample of temporary measures for were uniformly courteous and tolerant, unmarred by any touch of per-

sonality.

tions, working toward the co-opera-tive commonwealth and industrial table, with a request that the Natl. Com. consider it.

When the afternoon session came to order Mrs. Smith asked permission to resign the chair in favor of Bertha S. Wilkins, as she was not well. Her suggestion was accepted. Ida Crouch Hazlett was elected Sec'y pro tem.

Nearly the entire afternoon was devoted to discussing a motion which the Calif. Woman's Socialist Union adopted at its last convention. The

motion was:

Whereas, Minors of the United States are a majority of its citizens, though not yet eligible to vote; be it

Resolved, That we deprecate all laws which fail to consider their welfare, and tuthermore, be it resolved, that we will individually and collectively, agitate the right of children and do all in our power to bring about a public sentiment which shall demand the formation of a Court, coequal with the U. S. Supreme Court, whose duty it shall be to consider all laws with reference to their justice toward the rising generation and those generations yet to come; and which shall have power to declare unconstitutional and nullify all laws

that wrong these citizens.
Irene Smith of Orgeon and Mina Woods of Kansas stood against this motion, which they characterized as an immediate demand, a side issue, and a motion which stamped the organization adopting it as dilletante. Ida Crouch Hazlett declared that as we are dealing with the condition of children under capitalism and they are born into the world faster than we are getting Socialists. all Socialists should throw their erergies to any movement which will tend to develop the coming generation into better men women, more fit to fight She cited the Jufor Socialism.

but like all those of the convention children. Corinne Brown said that we do not get Socialism by leaps and bounds, but by the slow even growth of society, that the various steps are The general opinion was that both absolutely necessary before we can races should have their own organizareach the goal and that every step tions, working toward the co-operatending to break down the capitalistic system should be welcomed. equality along lines which appeal to The comrade who offered the motion each, and allowing all theoretical expressed surprise at the opposition questions as to future social equality coming from the radical comrades, to remain veiled in the time to be, stating that when she offered the The motion was finally laid on the same motion in Calif. the radicals at once saw that this was one more text-book with which to approach mothers and show them present actual conditions, and called attention to the fact that if the court called for could be formed (which she did not expect) it would first of all be obliged to do away with the inheritance law and would bring in a cocommonwealth unaided. operative since no other industrial system recognizes the rights of all children. She objected to the statement that a club adopting such a resolution ought to forfeit the name of Socialist, claiming that no possible immediate demand could be more illadvised than the fusion experiment of Calif., yet none had pretended that the party there had lost its rights to its name. She also expressed doubt as to whether the political organization would thenceforth do away with all immediate demands, (as had been suggested), but maintained that if political tactics made this wise it need not affect the action of a purely educational organization like the Union.

> When a vote was taken, apparently there was much doubt as to what was best, for many refrained from putting themselves on record regarding this. The motion was carried by a vote of 13 for and 8 against.

The next motion offered was:

Moved, That the nature of W. N. S. U. is such that it can more readily reach youths and children, therefore more easily train future voters than a political organization.

This carried unamimously, after very little discussion.

Moved: That if the Socialist Party makes advances to the negro, farmer, trade unionist, or any other portion of the workers-instead of appealing venile courts of Colo. as a fine ex- to the down trodden class as a whole this Union shall express its disap proval.

This motion was promptly tabled. A motion to hold an adjourned session immediately after the party convention carried, and it was agreed that notice as to time and place should be given her.

(To be continued.)

Comrades, in convention we accepted the offer of space kindly made by the editor of this magazine. Please bear this in mind and send me any items of interest you may have for it.

The San Jose W. S. U. sends its semi-annual programme, which impresses me as so good that I copy it here:

Feb. 5th--German Socialism-Karl Marx.

Feb. 19th—Earth, the Home of Man. (Mills' Lessons.)

Mar. 5th-French Socialism.

19th-Industrial Life of Primitive Man. (Mill's Lessons.)

Apr. 2nd-Woman-Past, Present and Future. (Bebel.)

Apr. 16th—Slavery and Serfdom. (Mills' Lessons.)

May 7th-English Socialism.

21st-Development of the Wage System. (Mills' Lessons.)

June 14th-Woman and Economics. (Gilman)

June 18th-An Inquiry into Political Economy and Socialism. (Mills' Lessons.)

July 2nd-American Socialism.

July 16th—Rent, Profit, Interest and Wages. (Mills' Lessons.)

I would not advise a club of beginners to follow this course without previous study; but for such as are prepared to get the real benefit of it, I most heartily recommend it.

Greetings and reports sent to the comrades assembled in convention, will be printed in part in later issues.

Chats With Young Folk. 4. **OUR PUZZLE-BALL EARTH.**

Before we talk of why other wise men think the earth very old, let us make a baseball. Did you ever try to make one?

We will make a wad of some kind of material for the centre, add layer and a neat piece of paper with even

after layer of string, and at last cover it with pieces out from some old gloves- After it is finished, could any of the boys guess what was in the middle, if they had never before seen

such a ball? Suppose your chums see it after it is sewed up, what can they guess about the ball? First they can see the color and smoothness of the surface, just as we can study the plants and trees on the outside of the earth. If they rip a seam, they can find out how thick the kid is, just as men can dig down and find out how deep the soil is on the earth; and if they look beneath the kid, they can see whether we made the ball of twine, varn or silk, just as folk who have studied the material below the soil know the rock-formation of our earth. But if we made the ball, they cannot guess what we took for a wad in the centre, and no wise man yet knows just what is in the centre of the earth. chums can guess; and perhaps one will think paper, another leather, another cloth, and so on; but no one will know unless he unravels the ball, cuts his way into the wad, or we-who made it-tell the secret. So it is with the wise men. They have guessed several things about the earth's centre and some of them may be right; but no one of them is sure, for the Maker of the earth has not told and no one ever dug away into the Sometime we will talk of the strange guesses, but now we will

When we have finished winding our ball, we find that it is not smooth like the twine on the big sphere at the grocer's, or the crochet cotton in the one from which mother is making a tidy. If we could have wound it in just such smooth layers, our ball would be a better illustration of the way material was placed on this globe; but even then it would have locked one thing that our earth has, as now let us make a puzzle ball.

think a little more of the string part

of our ball.

We will wind the string around the wad a great many layers, then add a piece of a baby's rattle. Put on more string and add a scrap from a rubber ring; more string, then a scrap of paper with odd, uncertain little pencil markings: string, then paper with roughly printed capital letters; string and a bit of soft dress goods; string printing on it, all the letters being incident in the career of the old lady capitals: string and a piece of heavy cloth; string and a paper on which capitals and small letters are properly used: string and a pen script letter; string and a leather sucker; lastly more string and the kid cover.

[To be continued.]

Let's Talk It Over.

B A. C. asks whether I consider a certain possible presidential nominee really disinterested in catering to the workers. I prefer not to deal in personalities in this dept., but as few of us are disinterested in our actions, we can not suppose that he is. I am I love, because it will benefit my descendnts, and save other mothers much agony which fell to my portion. There is no abstraction about my purpose. This query brought to my This query brought to my mind an old Ohio lady, who posed as a philianthropist on a small scale. Her house was much larger than she needed, so one winter she said to a friend (whose husband was ill. causing the burden to rest heavily on the wife's shoulders:) "Move right into my front rooms. I'll ask only a nominal rent, because your keeping them warm will make it less expensive for me to warm the rest of the house." This sounded reasonable, did it not? As there was no taint of did it not? As there was no taint of charity, the friend moved (paying just the same rent she would any where else, by the by.) Then a miracle seemed to be in operation in the old lady's coal-bins. She kept her rooms warm all winter, but she bought not a scuttle of coal and her small pile did not diminish. night the over-worked little woman in the front of the house had to go to the coal-shed at mid-night. She met the old lady, whose apron was full of coal, noiselessly picked from the bin of the family which she was posing as "befriending." Personally I'm suspicious of folk who give me something for nothing.

C. C. S. sends a query allied to this. She wishes to know whether I do not think it a "favorable sign of the times" that capitalists so frequently permit workers to invest in common stock. Her idea is that this is a kindly feeling toward the downtrodden. An SPOKANE.

above mentiened will illustrate what think of this. The week the family of whom I speak were to move into her house, the old lady said to me: "I do hope they will decide to move on Wednesday, for I have soup that noon." I presume I look puzzled, for she added. "It is only common neighborly kindness to invite them in here that noon, as they would have a cold lunch otherwise, and I do like company on soup day, for I can just torn a little more water in the kettle and it does not cost me a cent to be so hospistable."

Defenders of capitalism tell us we should not call Morgan and Rockenot, are you? I work for the Cause feller and Carnegie idlers or non producers. The capitalists work hard, they say. Yes, some of them undoubtedly do work hard. So do the burglar and counterfeiter. But the question is whether their work is useful. No one has yet pointed out the usefulness of the capitalist .-THE WORKER.

WHAT to READ on SOCIALISI

A book of thirty-six large pages, describing the stan-dard works on socialism in such a way that the student can readily judge what is to be learned from each. can readily judge what is to be learned from each. An introductory essay by Charles H. Kerr on "The Central Thing in Socialism," adds to the value of the book for new converts or inquirers. Handsomely printed on fine book paper with portraits of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Vandervelde, Carpenter, Whitman, Blatchford, Simons and other writers. Mailed for only ONE CENT a copy; \$1.00 a hundred. CHARLES H. KERR & CO., Pubs., 56 Fifth Ave., CHICAGO.

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Socialist Headquarters

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Boylston Edg.,

269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

In accordance with the resolution adopted by the National Convention, Socialists in all parts of the United States are called upon to donate one half day's payduring the third week of June for the Campaign Fund of 1904. This amount will be so divided as to give one third to the Local, one third to the State and one third to the National Organizations.

Local Secretaries everywhere should see that they receive from their state secretaries contribution lists. Locals in unorganized states are supplied direct from the National headquarters.

The most complete and valuable report of the recent National Convention is the one being gotten out by the National Headquarters. The debates upon important questions are given in detail, and every act of the convention is presented so that a faithful record and vivid picture is Readers are thus able to see the convention as it was, without exaggeration or discoloration. The report will be in book form, strong paper coyers, clearly printed and good typographical appearance, containing also portraits of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and other interesting matter. Price, paper covers, 50 cents; cloth bound \$1. Order direct from William Mailly, National Secretary, 259 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

PRACTICAL POLITICS.

Members should always keep in mind that the Socialist Party is a political party—the most practical political party on earth. For this reason party members should acquaint themselves with the election laws of the city and State in which they live. They should also keep posted on current political and economic events, and thus be prepared to take advantage of every opportunity to promote the cause. We should be prepared to act wisely when the political power of the nation is within our bands.

Local Secretaries should also make regular Members should always keep in mind that

Local Secretaries should also make regular reports of the progress of the movement in their localities to their State Secretary, or to

the National Secretary where no state or-

ganization exists.

ganization exists.

Finally, it is more important that every member should know what Soicalism is, and for what purpose the Socialist Party is organized than that a large vote representing a doubtful quality of Socialist thought and knowledge be secured. The hest way to get votes that will stick is to have party member who will stick, and who fully understand and realize the emancipating mission of the Socialist Party.

MINNESOTA COUNTY ORGANIZATION

As far and as fast as possible the Socialists must complete county organizations. We want to put up county tickets and be in line to elect representatives to the state legislature. In order to do so we must put the message of Socialism into every city, village and hamlet, into every country school house and cross roads. This necessitates county organizations. The work in any section can be most effectively managed by the comrades in that section. So the state officials are urging the com-rades that are organized to go to work at once in the line of county organization. Go to the towns, and country districts in your county. Get the names of those who will arrange meetings, or join the movement. Prepare the way and the state committee will cooperate. Then as soon as circumstances will warrant, call a convention of the locals organized and form a county organization. In all of this the state headquarters will cooperate.

As soon as county organizations are formed they can assume the oversight and direction of the propaganganda in their respective counties. This will relieve the state committee of that burden and they can then turn to the next unorganized county. In this way the work can be more rapidly developed.

Norman County in the Red River

Valley has now been organized for a of the Socialist Party. year and has been doing splendid Duluth was recently organized and has a most promising outlook. county organization there engaged Comrade Kirkpatrick for two weeks and is doing thorough work. Otter Tail County is arranging to have Thompson to organize that county. There is a strong local at Two Harbors that should soon be able to develop a good organization in Lake County. There are three strong locals in Crow Wing county,—one at Brainerd, another at Deer Wood among the farmers, we understand, and and a third among the farmers west of Brainerd. Here, certainly is a splendid opening for a county or-ganization. The Brainerd comrades will probably organize one or two branches in that city. Here then should be the organization of Crow Wing county. The comrades at Wing county. The comrades at Grand Rapids are abundantly able to accomplish the organization of Itasca county, and, as we understand, are at work upon it now. The locals in Hibbing and Duluth should be able to effect the organization of St. Louis county. St. Hilaire, Angus and Thief River Falls locals should organize Red Lake county in the Red River vallev.

And other locals will doubtless push the work so that by election time we should easily have a dozen counties fairly well organized and in working order.

CARL D. THOMPSON, State Organizer.

THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

This is the title of a new book by George D. Herron which briefly sums up the issues of the campaign of 1904 and the opportunity awaiting the Socialist Party of America. It embodies the material included in Comrade Herron's article in the April issue of the International Socialist Review. But it has been carefully revised by the author and some considerable additions have been made to it.

The book is handsomely printed and will sell for ten cents a copy while a royalty on every copy sold will be paid into the national campaign fund

The book may be ordered from the publishers, work. Carlton County. just west of Charles H. Kerr & Company, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, or from the office of this paper.

> The music of the Socialist movement has not yet come, but ought to soon appear. No not yet come, but ought to soon appear. No doubt there are many among us who can utter the message in song, and there are many waiting for the utterance. The following poem by Comrade W. R. Gaylord has been set to music by himself, and has been used by him both as solo and for chorus work, Composed some six years ago, it has never been published, altho' he has had numerous requests for conies

> numerous requests for copies.
>
> It will soon be published in sheet music form, can be had from this office or from Comrade Gaylord, on remittance of fifty cents.

THE SONG OF PEACE.

A song divine, at Bethlehem, Full centuries ago-Rang through the hills and promised then A hope for men below.

The world was full of death and strife, Of hate and cruel scorn, But angels sang a song of life Upon that winter morn.

Refrain:

"Peace on Earth"-O list, the angel-song. "Good-will among His children all? Why tarries it so long?

When garners burst with golden grain, While hungry children mourn; When idle men walk on in pain To meet their brothers' scorn; When nations hasten still to war, And slaves pray for release; The day of hope is yet afar-The promised day of peace.

Refrain:

"Peace on Earth" -O list the angel-song. "Good-will among His children all!" Why tarries it so long?

Send forth the message of that song To battlefield and mart. Teach men to scorn the golden wrong That rends our lives apart. Death follows when we slight this word; -Then spike the cannon grim! Have done with bullet and with sword! Come, learn the angels' hymn.

Rafrain:

"Peace on Earth" O swell the mighty song.

"Good-will among His children!" It shall not tarry long.

-WINFIELD R. GAYLORD

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SOCIALIST PLATFORM

Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party Chicago, May 5, 1904

B, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defenders and preservers of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society

To this idea of liberty the Republican and

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of

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further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social rev-

dividual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property.

in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable. evitable

Socialism comes to so organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means

of life upon which his liberty of being' thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liber-, ty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accom-plished the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but in-ternational, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundries, The chief significance of national boundries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalists for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

The socialist movement owes its birth and The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, as its portion.

as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class

conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labors of scores, or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is notfor the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and mean

of production: and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve its. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men

To the end that the workers may scize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, commuciation and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children, and their

freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recal of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remediates and the second of the second of the capitalist and light the second of the se

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

The capitalist mind cannot conceive of any higher ideal of human relationship than that of a kind master and a satisfied slave. But the Socialist ideal is a society in which there shall be neither masters nor slaves.—The New Time.

One of the bishops of the Methodist church preached a sermon Sunday in which he advocated the conquering of heathen countries by 'Christian nations." We have no serious objections if the conquering armies can be made up of such as he. The trouble, however, is that the first examples of our physical manbood are asked for, and these met slaughtered in order to gain foreign markets for whisky and Methodist.—PEOPLE'S PAPER.

A little stealing is a dangerous part.
But stealing largely is a noble at Time mean to rob a henroost or a her But stealing thousands make gentlemen.—The Clarion.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Many readers of THE VANGUARD have expressed surprise at the low club rate of 25c. which we have made for yearly subscriptions, and have rightly estimated that it is impossible to publish the magazine at such a price. Had it not been for receipts from advertising we could not have maintained this rate. But even so we have felt morally bound to reject a large amount of objectionable advertising offered and the receipts from this source have grown proportionately less while on the other hand the subscription list has been running up at a rapid rate involving increased obligations.

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We must now adopt one of two courses, namely, throw our columns open to all kinds of advertising or adhere strictly to a subscription rate of 50c; and 40c in clubs of four or more. We unhesitatingly decide upon the latter course and we believe our decision will meet with the general approval of our readers. THE VANGUARD is well worth 50c a year and we are persuaded that our subscribers would much prefer paying this than have our pages disfigured with unsavory announcements.

To give our workers a fair chance to secure new names at the 25c rate, however we will hold to it for this month.

July 1, the higher price will go into ef

We have still on hand a supply of Postal Subscription cards at 25c which may be had at the old rate till the supply is exhausted. These may be purchased now and will be good for yearly subscriptions at any time either before or after July 1. But beginning July 1 the price of Postal Subscription cards will be 40c in lots of four or more. This will be our lowest club rate. Those who wish to take advantage of the present 25c rate should act promptly.

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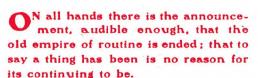
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VANGUARD

JULY, 1904





-THOMAS CARLYLE.

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VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY. WIS., JULY, 1904.

NO. 11

It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor. and could not have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior capital and deserves much higher consideration. I bid the laboring people beware surrendering a power which they possess, and which if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost. -Abraham Lincoln.

that "to us the one all-important tithes and said prayers. point in the records of the life of Jesus, Isaiah, Moses and the great characters of Bible history is their ther light on fundamental principles supreme devotion to the cause and of prophetic teaching let him turn to interests of those who toiled." he fails to indicate how any other in- much after the style of the following: terpretation may fairly be put upon "He looked for judgment but behold the messages of those prophetic oppression, for righteousness but besouls, whose words of warning and de- hold a cry." "Is not this the fast nunciation were hurled at rich and that I have chosen? to loose the truth cost them their lives. man at the hands of men. The most terrible woe Jesus pro- manifold transgressions fessedly "religious," the prominent them.

The editor of a "Christian" journal heaped burdens on other men's shoultakes exception to our statement ders while for a pretence they paid

If the editor referred to wishes fur-But Isaiah and Amos where he will find powerful oppressors of the poor, and bands of wickedness, to undo the whose fearlessness in proclaiming the heavy burdens and to let the op-In his pressed go free, and that ve break recent work Dr. Keedy well says: every yoke?" "I hate, I despise your "Jesus exhausted himself upon noth- feast days and I will not smell your ing as he did upon getting justice for solemn assemblies. But let judgment His con- run down as waters and righteousness tention was always for men's rights. as a mighty stream." "I know your nounced was that he called down upon mighty sins: you afflict the just and the man who should injure another." take a bribe, and turn aside the poor And then as now the men most noted in the gate from their right." "And for their inhumanity were the pro- they shall build houses and inhabit And they shall plant vineand "respectable" citizens who de- yards and eat the fruit of them. They voured widows' houses, exacted usury, shall not build and another inhabit.

They shall not plant and another the judiciary at a similar crisis in our They shall enjoy the work of country: their own hands. They shall not labor in vain nor bring forth for trou-Good Socialist preaching is this. But we must not forget that the prophets were regarded as "troublers of Israel," "agitators," "demagogues." And we are still "of the generation that stone the prophets." The apostles, too, were considered "pestilent fellows" who wanted to "turn the world upside down." This is not surprising when we read that one of tnem, the brother of Jesus, said; "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries which shall come upon you. the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord."

SPEAKING OF JUDGES.

decided that the governor of that lighted the fires of persecution that state has sole power to declare any glowed at Oxford and Smithfield, over district in a state of insurrection the cinders of Latimer Ridley and whether any disturbance exists or John Rogers; which, after deliberate not; he is the sole judge in the mat- argument, upheld the fatal tyranny ter and may order out the military, of ship-money against the patriot rearrest and imprison men, retain them sistence of Hampden which, in defiin prison without trial so long as sees ance of justice and humanity, sent fit, and even kill them, and the civil Sidney and Russell to the block, courts have no right to interfere with which persistently enforced the laws the governor or the military in the of conformity that our Puritan fathexercise of this prerogative. establishes a where one man clothed with guber- crimsoned the pages of English hisnatorial authority can become a ty-tory with massacre and murder-even rant and a despot whose mandate with the blood of innocent women. towers above law and constitution." This is the situation in Colorado, and bunal in our country, surrounded by is exactly what the capitalists want all the forms of law, which hung the everywhere. awaking and will yet be heard from. constitutionality of the stamp act, Apropos of this decision, we quote while it admonished jurors and the

"I hold judges, and especially the supreme court of the country, in much respect, but I am too familiar with the history of judicial proceedings to regard them with any superstitious reverence. Judges are but men, and in all ages have shown a full share of human frailty. alas! the worst crimes of history have been perpetrated under their sauc-The blood of martyrs and of patriots, crying from the ground, summons them to judgment.

"It was a judicial tribunal which condemned Socrates to drink the fatal hemlock, and which pushed the Savior barefoot over the pavements of Jerusalem, bending beneath his cross.

"It was a judicial tribunal in England surrounded by all the forms of law, which sanctioned every despotic caprice of Henry VIII, from the unjust divorce of his Queen to the be-The Supreme court of Colorado has heading of Sir Thomas More; which "The ers refused to obey; and which afterprecedent wards, with Jeffries on the bench,

"Aye, sir, and it was a judicial tri-But the people are witches at Salem; which affirmed the the utterance of Charles Sumner on people to obey; and which in our day

lent its sanction to the unutterable atrocity of the fugitive slave law." Ve

BERGER HITS OUT

thrown down the gauntlet and is fought light, it has always favored making a bitter fight against Social- darkness. Yet it has never succeedism. Heretofore there has been a ed in stamping out progress and nevdisposition on the part of Socialists er will. It has always been compellto deal gently with the church out of ed to make its peace with the new respect for the sentiments of Catho- powers and try if possible to steal and lic workingmen but the time seems counterfeit the watchwords of proto have come when such an attitude gress. The Roman Catholic church is nothing short of treason to the is now in favor of the republican form cause of the workers. Already the of government in America but not in Roman Catholic church has its plans France. It is in favor of the non-inlaid to swing the workingmen under terference of the government its control into an organized political school matters in France and Ameriparty to prevent their economic ca, while the same church claims abemancipation and hold them in sub- solute control over all the schools in jection to the "powers that be." For Belgium, Austria and Spain, where Socialists to longer ignore or trifle they control the government. with such a foe would be the height of folly, and we are gratified at the ic and political question, and it is manner in which Comrade Victor L. surely not our fault if the Roman Berger of Milwaukee accepts the Catholic church is trying to make a challenge of Rome and states the So- religious question out of it. The cialist position. He says:

have a political party in America. It goes against the grain with me to take up a fight with this church, but it is after us. We must speak. I do not want to assail any individual ligious denomination, including the member of the church but our posi- Roman Catholic church, but if it intion must be stated. What Roman sists on making war upon the progress Catholics commonly say of us is com- of the human race we are not afraid pletely wrong.

"Socialism is not a question of re- humanity." ligion. It is nonsense to say that if woman has economic liberty with man she will become impure. Economic independence will make her all the more independent otherwise.

"The Roman Catholic church has always searched for power. It has a political party in Germany, France, Belgium and Austria. The Irish par- of THE VANGUARD without delay. It will ty represents it in England: There is be a hummer.

no Roman Catholic party in China or America, but there will be. It merely has been a question of time.

"Since its very existence as church, it has tried to stop The Roman Catholic church has wheels of progress. It has always

"The social question is an econom -Roman Catholic church has fared ill "The Roman Catholic church will by doing so in all the European Catholic countries and will fare much worse in this country, where the great majority is still non-Catholic. We Socialists want peace with every reto be identified with the progress of

It is only in an order of things in which there will be no longer classes or class antagonism that social evolutions will cease to be political revo--KARL MARX. lutions.

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The African slave had his master: so has the industrial slave.

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-KATE ALEXANDER.

THE LESSON OF BRUTE FORCE.

HE creed of brute force is a transparent lie; brute force never decides anything. No question is ever settled until the solution which love dictates is reached. Might can never make right. Brute force can never consummate justice, by whomsoever exercised. And we shall never have anything like peace or prosperity, save as we have justice. peal to force from above will be met by the appeal to force from below. The anarchists of the avenue will continue to spawn the anarchists of the alleys. And by the same token justice and love will call forth justice and love. It lies in the power of men and women to say that the social and industrial development of these coming years shall be peaceful and happy, or warlike and sorrowful. There does not exist a single institution on this earth which can escape the closest scrutiny of the eye of justice. Justice is a solvent which nothing can resist. It has dissolved empires, and it will dissolve every government that is erected on the basis of force. It has dissolved superstitions, and it will dissolve others whether they are in the realm of religion or in the realm of industry and commerce. We cannot hide ourselves, our property, our conduct, our theories from the light of justice. We need to know that love alone is eternal. We live in a shadow or a dream, lacking knowledge. The Caesars are gone and their empire has melted away. The tyranny and despotism of the Stuarts and Tudors

and the Georges have vanished. The deeds of the nations today-of England in Egypt and India and South Africa—of Russia in Finland and China and Siberia—of the United States in Cuba and the Phillippines are not to be dismissed with a word. They are going to be weighed in the balance The ledger of retribution is not by any means made up. But they shall all pay to the last farthing. "The mills of God grind slow, but they grind ex ceeding smail; though with patience he stands waiting with exactness grinds he all." Spain four hundred years ago was the foremost nation of the earth. Today she has fallen to the rank of a tenth-rate power. In the days of her pride she brooked no protest. The house of Hapsburg appealed not to reason or justice or love or humanity, but always to brute force. She took the sword, and though she has waited long, she has wellnigh perished by the sword. We boast of our Anglo-Saxon race, as if it were proof against the demoralizing infection of dishonor and perfidy. So boasted once the great Latin race. Yesterday it held the scepter of empire. Today it is the jest of the nations. The descendant of the Caesars is the player of a hand-organ. Not only in the Phillippines have we appealed to the sword, but also in the mines of Idaho and Colorado, of Itlinois and Pennsylvania, and everywhere were men are demanding a living wage. We in this country are doing our utmost to teach the "silent sullen people" of mine and factory and railroad that might makes right. Do we want them to learn that lesson? Do we want to appeal to the arbitrament of the sword in industry as we have in conquest? We may be sure that they will not be slow to learn that lesson. And we ought to know that in teaching it we are sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind. It was Jesus who "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."

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ie will Silie -WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN.

"BUSINESS IS WAR."

THIS is the unexpectedly honest statement I found recently at the head of an advertisement:

"BUSINESS IS WAR."

....the successful business man of today knows business is war in which the public are spectators and the prizes are golden.

The worst of the matter is, this advertiser was right. Business is war. And this industrial warfare of which he tells us is identical in its cause, its nature, and its results, with that permanent state of war which existed before the coming of democracy into the political world. The first cause of political warfare was individualism—"each man for himself"—and its first result was the supremacy of the strongest—the rise of monarchy and of despotism. Our industrial warfare of today finds also its origin in individualism, and its first result is likewise the rule of the strongest—the reign of the "monopoly" and the "trust."

It was the mission of democracy to put an end to this state of perpetual warfare, and to establish the era of peace. Before its coming, rights were won and lost by a contest of strengths, and might was the sole interpreter of such rights. It was the miracle wrought by democracy that

made "rights" the gift of the law, and established courts for their interpretation.

But in the industrial world of today rights are still won and lost by contest of industrial strengths—witness the recent strike in the anthracite mines. It is the mission of the new democracy to apply again the teachings of the older democracy, and to usher in the era of peaceful industrial progress. Through Socialism is to be wrought the miracle of substituting justice for might and law for anarchy in the industrial world.

But note in what manner democracy solved its political problem. It did not suggest any return to the old individualism. It did not even say: Go on with your warfare; I will see that you have a fair fight. Quite the contrary. It took the whole matter into its own hands. It outlined a plan of political life and action. And then it said not only: Act according to this; but it added: You must not act in any other way. It did not merely demand that every man be given an equal opportunity of becoming a king. Instead, it made itself—"the people"--the one great king, and all individuals its subjects.

Let us apply this precedent to the industrial problem. There are those and many of them—who say: The real remedy is free competition. But has not democracy already once and most emphatically denied this? Learn from the past history of democracy itself—the best instructor we have: The true solution of our industrial problem is the creation of a new and greater king—"the people"—to whom all individuals shall be subject. Not an increase of the old "free competition," but action along the lines and in the manner prescribed by this new king, and in that way only.

"Truth," said Mirabeau to his fellow French revolutionists in 1789, "is the child of time." A great many things we believe impossible today will be accomplished tomorrow. Democracy was one of those things in the recent past. Think how absolutely impracticable and visionary democracy must have appeared to those who had been reared under absolutism and and detpotism. And then bring that thought down to today. Note the resemblance of Socialism, and the work it proposes to do, to democracy and the work it has done. And then answer for yourself these two questions: Is it for our best interests that "business" should continue to be "war"? And does not the industrial democracy of Socialism offer a perfectly rational and historical method of transforming this warfare into peaceful progress, this disorder into order, and this perpetual loss into enduring profit?

-CLARK E. PERSINGER.

IS SOCIALISM RELIGIOUS?

HE objection has been often raised that Socialism is irreligious. Clarence S. Darrow, recently on a visit to Germany, after a thoro study of Socialism and Socialists as personified by the German party members, declares the Socialist to be a religious fanatic. There seems to be a wonderful similarity between the actions of the class-conscious Socialist and the old-time religious enthusiast. The proletariat getting con verted to the Socialist philosophy acts just like the man who in the past claimed that he had "got religion." Webster's definition of religion shows the following: "Without seriousness there can be no religious principle."

"Strictness or fidelity in conforming to any practice." The militant Socialist is all of this and more. He pulsates and throbs with a mighty ideal born of a scientific basis. His every word and action breathes of a newfound hope and inspiration. Comrade Sprague in his "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation" declares that the Socialists have a standard of justice and righteousness far in excess of that of the orthodox Christian church. Marx is said to have been a materialist, but even as a materialist may he not have written the scientific basis for a new and world-wide religion founded on co-operation and righteousness?

The mere fact that the orthodox religion may have put itself under the ban does not necessarily destroy the fact that a real religion might not spring up on the ruins of the old and effete theology of the Christian religion. Socialism might truly be called the religion of doing things and of being founded on scientific fact instead of finding its basis in the superstitions of the past and the mythological nonsense of bygone ages.

What could be more religious than that a body of men should work most ardently to establish a kingdom of heaven on earth; should seek to teach men that the all-important necessity is to find how to make sure for every child of man an abundance of food, clothing, and shelter. To call this class of people religious might necessitate a change of the commonly accepted terms as defining religion. Is it not true that the Socialist philosophy is the most intensely and purely religious that has ever been given to the world? Would not the working out and the putting into practise of its scientific ideas make of this world the grandest and best and the most just? Would it not give a condition, not a theory, far in excess of the highest dreams of the seers of the past and followers of a belief in a millennium? Without Socialism a millenium would only be a possibility by a display of force. It could only be continued by a constant exercise of that force—the force of the military and the law. The only real milenium that can continue its existence will have to spring from the spontaneous action of the people. This is one of the sure results of the philosophy of Socialism.

Socialism has a better claim to be called religious than the teachings of any sect that has yet existed in the world. It cares nothing whatever for this claim and is perfectly willing to allow its enemies to say what they please regarding it and its practices. The only thing it is concerned about is that it may push its propaganda of full industrial liberty to the furthermost ends of the earth.

—C. L. BRECKON.

REFLECTIONS ON THE WASHTUB

T is a strange trait in the mental arrangement of the "better classes" that makes them regard it as perfectly proper and right that one poor woman should do the washing for SEVERAL families while they do not consider THEIR wives able to do the washing for their own households.

No one will ever know the number of poor women who have been literally worked to death because poverty placed them where they could not choose and compelled them to do not only their own washing, but the laundry work of as many others as they could crowd into the hours between Monday morning and Saturday night.

The strongest woman that ever lived was never made to endure such abuse and could not continuously endure it for many years.

Physiological and anatomical reasons would prevent it.

And the weak ones—the poor, slight, narrow-chested creatures that we

all see getting off the cars out in the residence districts in the early morn-

ing-why, they just drift into consumption and die.

Or wet with perspiration and steam, they go out in the cold, pneumonia comes the next day and-well, there are some little children at home that have neither father nor mother now and some one else has to get a new washer-woman-that's all.

"Killed by overwork; misused as a humane man would not misuse a beast of burder," is the epitaph that society should place over the graves

of such unfortunates.

But it doesn't. It just advertises for a new woman to work—and die.

It's a pity that every man does not hang his head in shame that ANY

woman, rich or poor, has to wash!
Washing KILLS women—and it kills them just as quickly if they are

poor as it would if they were rich.

Nor is there any necessity that they should do work that is so far beyond their strength.

The ingenuity of man has invented machinery that will cleanse clothes

better and faster than any woman can do it.

The power to drive such machinery is contained in infinite quantity in

the natural forces of the earth.

Every coal mine is a reservoir of it, every forest a vast supply, while the rivers are ready to turn dynamos that would do the washing of the world.

That's why the steam laundries that we now have are in existence-in-

adequate as they are to the requirements of the people.

But only the rich, or the moderately well-off—which constitute only a small part of the population—can afford to send their washing to the laundress because it costs so much.

And it is because of the high prices charged by the laundries, as compared with the incomes of those who have washing to do, that thousands of poor women have to slave and die at work for which they were never intended.

But some day, things will be different.

As the first step toward emancipating women from the deadly drudgof the washtub, the people will relieve Mr. Baer and his fellow Christian workers from the ownership and management of the coal mines. course, will deprive these estimable citizens of the difference between the 90 cents that it costs to mine a ton of coal and what they now sell the coal for, BUT IT WILL GIVE CHEAP COAL—THE FIRST REQUIREMENT OF CHEAP LAUNDRY WORK.

Then the people will take over the management and ownership of the railroads in order to prevent Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Morgan and others from undoing their work at the mines by charging an exorbitant price for

transporting the coal to the laundries.

And then, instead of having 57 laundries in Detroit, for instance. as there are now, with the tremendous waste that there is in rent, duplication of machinery, etc., there will be one huge laundry with delivery wag-

ons to call for and deliver goods.

24.

The people will do their work for themselves at cost, just as they now carry their own mail at cost and the economies that can be effected by doing away with duplicate plants for doing the same thing and substituting one huge plant at far less expense will make the cost of laundry work only a fraction of what it is now.

Then a poor man will not be compelled to permit his wife to ruin her health doing the family washing, nor will widows be forced to do the washing of half a dozen families beside their own in order to keep bread in their

children's mouths and roofs over their heads.

It will be the golden age for women. But don't try to bring it about, for that is what the Socialists are seeking to do when they put their little ballots in the box on election day, and the Socialists are very bad people-Mr. Baer's word for it.

--ALLAN L. BENSON.



WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT. Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M, Chicago.

There are some members of the make further inquiries. Again and Natl. Com. who have not yet sent again I have given it away, without their suggestions as to necessary creating the least interest until I amchanges in our constitution. Please hurry this, in order that we may have the matter all straightened up before the end of our fiscal year.

Up to date, not one member of the Nat'l Com, has favored a change in name of our Union. Indications are that the vote to abolish the office of Pres. will be a tie in Com., in which the Pres. will vote, as she wishes this sent out for referendum.

The conclusion of report of our convention will be published in the Aug. issue. As we have monopolized the space of this dept. for two months this seems fair to non-members who may not be interested.

Several members have asked whether, if they disapprove of the platform of the party, they ought to withdraw from the Union. Most cer-tainly not! The platform may be changed several times before women vote and as our Union is educational, a belief in the fundamental principles of Socialism and subscribing to our constitution is sufficient for membership. Agreement or not with the tactics of the political organization forms no part of the affairs of this Union as a Union. I wish these members would read my reply to E. C. J. elsewhere in this issue.

Let's Talk It Over.

E. C. J. asks why I approve of the platform adopted by the Socialist Party in its convention. I am tempted to say, because I see no cause for disapproval. Too often a platform is a mere collection of words, or else so involved that it needs an inter-Party has just discarded the second. worded as to attract non-socialists to sop in the way of promises to control

plified its statements. The present platform seems to me well suited for use as a propaganda leasset: and, when all is said and done, the propaganda is all which we expect to accomplish in this presidential cam-paign. It clearly states where we stand, without equivocation gives brief explanation of what are our principles, and makes pledges.

Those who disapprove of it claim that it begins with a falsehood. I think this an errror. It states that this nation was born in "the idea of liberty" and the fact that we have never had true freedom does not con, trovert this. Like all other ideasthat of liberty has evolved; but when this nation was born its founders most certainly intended it as the defender of their idea of liberty, which was a very advanced one for their time. Their utterances were in advance of their action, just as the speeches of most advanced thinkers are in advance of the mass-action of the time. Nor is the charge that this platform throws us with opportunists well-founded. Opportunists we insist that the goal be kept in view; but if on the way thereto we can relieve temporary suffering, we will not hesitate to do it provided that the temporaring is not of a kind which will delay the incoming of the Cooperative Commonwealth. At this writing (June 8th) I do not fear to prophesy that the platforms of both parties will refer to the trusts. Whether the Republicans will "stand pat," or suggest such revision of tariff as will admonish trusts that they must "be preter to accompany it. In my opin-ion, the platforms of the old parties Republicans usually suggest that pub-nsually fail under the first descrip-licity and governmental supervision tion, and the one which the Socialist will make combines a thing of joy to good" is an open question. Leading the land. Without much doubt the Our former platform was not so Democrats will throw workers some

trusts. Some of us remember with would not be meted out to the "ruling glee Bryan shouted in the last cam- class" of our land, but as it had no paign: Private monopoly is an out-preceptible effect in bettering things law" and it is a safe wager that some for workers in England we may judge such slogan will be used this time.

the working program formulated by the Socialist Party in convention assembled and what better ammunition Commerce Commission on freight, do you wish with which to tight

theu?

H. C. S. asks whether I consider the the Democratic or Republican proposal of trust-control best. It being "certific a case of six of one and half dozen of counts." the other, I can't say that I have choice. In his "private monopoly" outcry, Mr. Bryan neglected to explain how it was possible to keep "private ownership" alive and prevent it becoming "private monopoly."
Untill he does this, the remark is "just words."

While in California I had my first experience in country life. my neighbors raised bogs. One of In one brood there was a weakling which he especially protected even when it grew large enough to fight its own battles, he continued to protect it from force of habit: but after this protection was removed, the pig continued to "rule the trough" just the same. By special pampering it had grown somewhat larger than its competitors and crowded them from the trough. At last it showed its true nature: when unable to eat more, it waddled into the trough and lay down. Our "infant industries" will manage to hold their own, even if the Republicans decide to do away with protection, or if our Democratic friends obtain control and act similarly. Until it can be explained how to keep a pig in healthy condition without its becoming a hog, I'll not have confidence in any makeshife method of preventing private ownership from becoming psivate monopoly.

As to supervision and control, that is an old story. England tried it centuries ago. I cannot find data without special search, so may not be exact in this statement, but think it is correct to say that in England they decided to curtail "conspiracies to could print large and small letters keep up cost of food-stuffs." For a first couviction the fine was ten offence the fine was doubled and the rocks; bodies of plants, bones of anculprit had one ear cut off. We all imals, petrified wood and more things

whether that matters. Human na-As against these make-hifts, place ture has not changed since then and governmental control is useless, as witness the rulings of our Interstate passes, etc. We all know how they are obeyed as regards freight, and some of us know that passes merely became "editorial trip tickets" and 'certificates adverfising acon

Chats With Young Folk. 4. **OUR PUZZLE-BALL EARTH.**

(Continued)

Now suppose you give the ball to a friend. He likes it and enjoys the outside, but after a while a seam rips. Then he needs some string, so goes beneath the kid and unwinds some. Will he not be surprised when he finds the sucker? What will it tell him? Well, he will at least know that it once belonged to some one smart enough to have learned that a wet bit of leather and a string, properly pressed onto a stone, can lift in a surprising manner.

We will imagine that he needs more string after a time, so comes to the nicely written copy; and again and again he will find things hidden in the ball. Do you not believe that he will soon get curious and unwind string just for the sake of finding out what is hidden away? I believe he would, and if he knows that all the articles in the ball once belonged to you, he will find out several things about you, especially if he is sure that they were put into the sphere in the order in which you used them. The bit of rattle will show that you had learned to clutch with your baby hands; the rubber ring that you were getting teeth; the piece of soft cloth following the roughly printed letters, that you tried to make these signs while you still wore dresses; the heavy cloth, that you were put into trousers before you properly; and so on.

Now in our earth-ball there are Upon conviction for second many things hidden away in the know that such extreme measures than I can tell you. Some wise men

have studied these things (which are called fossils) hidden in the rock-lavers of the earth. They find that the highest types of animals are nearest the surface; but as they go into the older layers, all traces of the kinds of animals we know die out, though there are many others such as we never saw but evidently the greatgreat-grandparents (with many more greats than I have used) of the plants and animals now on earth.

The wise men who study life, know that changes of this kind take place very slowly, so they feel positive that the bodies which are buried in the deep layers must have lived millions of years ago and this makes them sure that our earth has existed all

this great length of time.

Other wise men study the way rocks are made and find that it takes many to add a few inches to their thickness, so, as the rock of the earth is thousands of feet thick, these men also say that the world is very old: much older than our brains can think, even if we know the figures, for it is at least one hundred million years since animals began to live on this globe.

As all the wise scientists have reasons for thinking the earth millions of years old and we have not one thing to show that it is not, we will believe that they know and not worry as to the world's age, which may be even older than the one hundred and eighty-four million years, which is the sum of the Jewish explanation of the earth's early life-period and the scientist's belief as to its later growth.

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BOOK REVIEW

How England Averted a Revolution of Force, by B. O. Flower Laid antique, all-rag paper, handsewed; 288 pp., fully indexed. With an appendix. 12-mo. \$1.25 net; by mail \$1.35. Albert Brandt, publisher, Trenton, N. J.

This new book by the editor of the Arena is a graphic survey of the first ten years of Queen Victoria's reignthat wonderful decade so strong in lights and shadows that it will ever remain one of the most stirring and momentous periods in the history of modern England. It was a time as Mr. Flower clearly points out, when revolutionizing science was thought of the world; when the church was convulsed by powerful liberal and equally strong reactionary movements; when inventive genius vied with scientific scholarship in its marvelous militarian achievments: when Great Britain by her postal revolution assumed the leadership of the world in one of the most important governmental functions of modern times, when Chartism assumed giantlike proportions, and the deep and ominous mutterings of revolution reverberated on every hand; when famine stalked throughout the land and industrial depression in Great Britain; when the Anti-Corn-Law and Free Trade League became the standard bearer of the conscience element, successfully arraying itself against the almost solid opposition of the government; when a great and wonderful humanistic wave swept over the heart and brain of England; glorifying her literature and making this forever memorable; period Charles Dickens, Thomas Carlyle, Elizabeth Barrett, Thomas Hood, Charles Mackay, Gerald Massey, Cannon Kingsley, Frederick D. Maurice, Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Giuseppe Mazzini, in different ways and from different vantage-grounds, but all moved by the same holy enthusiasm, wrought for a larger life for the people, for juster social conditions, for nobler ideals, and for that righteousness which exalts a nation. All these subjects are luminously touched upon in this intensely interesting volume.



Socialist Headquarters

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known. for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Boylston Bdg., 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

PLATFORM

Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party Chicago, May 5, 1904

B, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the

the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor. labor.

further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenances of social revenances. for the common good.

for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our nolitical institutions are also being

servile submission to its own interests.
Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions or make it impossible for the vast majority

of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, where the subject was the private of the priv above its subsistence wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes to so organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual. ty of the individual.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's worker are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and approximations. condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundries. The chief significance of national boundres, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalists for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

sources of profit.

The socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflict of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations and, in so standing, it makes for the full free dom of all humanity.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development of world-process which is rapidly separating working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produce nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the portunities and enjoyments these fruits III.

afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncer-tointy, and physcial and intellectual misery,

as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class

conflict.

conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labors of scores, or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be. Between these two classes there can be no

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapdly socializing forces of industry. so-alled trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and Crisis of

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by iversal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately or-ganizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

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Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and ad-

ministered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers: for the public ownership of the workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of in-comes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular govern-ment, including initiative, referendum, pro-portional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force measures of refer as we may be and to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the par ty of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat sounds a warning. It says: "Republicans as well as Democrats would do well to keep an eye on Eugene V. Debs for the next few months. He is likely to make a very active canvass.

GOOD NEWS FOR OUR READERS

The Vanguard to be Enlarged and Improved

For some time we have contemplated making The Vanguard a weekly. For some time the publishers of the Social Democratic Herald have also had in mind the issuing of a monthly in addition to their weekly. Recently a consolidation of publishing interests was suggested by means which the desires of both could be realized without duplication of labor and expense. We are now pleased to. announce that such consolidation has been effected and hereafter The Vanguard and The Social Democratic Herald will be issued from the same office.

The Vanguard will be enlarged and improved in many ways, retaining its present character and effectiveness, standing for social conscience, social justice and the Co-operative Commonwealth. For Socialist propaganda it will be more valuable than ever. Already we have arranged for a number of Special Editions with considerable increase in the number of pages. The price will remain 50 cents a year.

The Social Democratic Herald is by far the best of our Socialist weeklies. It is ably edited by Alderman Frederic Heath of Milwaukee, and comes from the field where the battle waxes hottest. Each week it presents special signed articles by Victor L. Berger and Eugene V. Debs. No comrade should be without it. Its price is 50 cents a year. The combination price for the Vanguard and the Herald will be 75 cents. If you are a subscriber to either you can have your subscription extended one year at this rate.

The editorial office of The Vanguard remains in Green Bay. Exchanges and correspondence for the editor should still be addressed to The Vanguard, Green Bay, Wis.

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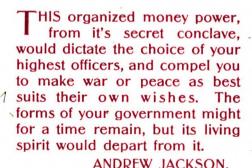
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Magazine of Modern Thought and Social Progress.

J. M. A. SPENCE, Editor, Green Bay, Wis.

The Vanguard is published monthly by the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing O., 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis. Application is made for entry at the Milwaukee ost Office as second class mail matter.

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THE VANGUARD.

"We're beaten back in many a fray, Yet newer strength we borrow, And where the Vanguard camps to-day, The rear shall rest tomorrow."

OL. 2.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., AUGUST, 1904.

No. 12.

In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." And since then, if we except Athe light and air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without first having cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things have been produced by labor, it follows that ALL SUCH THINGS OF RIGHT BELONG TO THOSE WHOSE LABOR HAS PRODUCED THEM. But it has so happened in all ages of the world that some have labored and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large portion of their fruits. THIS IS WRONG AND SHOULD NOT CONTINUE. To secure to each laborer THE WHOLE PRODUCT OF HIS LABOR, OR AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE, is a worthy object of any good government.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

the "sinews of war" for the reason that they have unbounded "confidence" in both parties to do nothing the men who furnish and instead of being Democrats and Republicans we shall be Socialists and anti-Socialists." The new alignment of the parties to do nothing the men who furnish and instead of being Democrats and Republicans we shall be Socialists and anti-Socialists." both parties to do nothing that will disturb present "prosperity." There will be a sham battle between the Republicans and Democrats for the presidency, but no matter which wins the "great financiers" will remain secure in their reign of greed, fraud and robbery.

making a vigorous and effective cam-paign with the prospect of polling a vote that will at once fulfill the prediction of Mark Hanna that the next great contest would be between the Socialists and Republicans. There is no live issue between the Democrats and Republicans. This is as the capitalists would have it. Their partyism is a cloak for "business" as one of them admitted when he said that in Democratic states his corporation supported the Democratic party and in Republican states it threw its "influ-ence" with the Republicans, but every-

where it was for itself. The capitalist

The Socialists, on the other hand, are

The Presidential election promises to ter which way the election goes he has be a very tame affair so far as the old a "sure thing." The World Today states parties are concerned. The daily news-the situation rightly when it says: anti-Socialists." The new alignment is coming rapidly. The Socialists hail it with delight. They want the issue squarely drawn.

"There are fifty men in the city of New York," says Senator Depew, "who can in twenty-four hours stop every wheel on all the railways, close every door of all our manufactories, lock every switch on every telegraph line and shut down every coal and iron mine in the United States. They can do this because they control the money which this country produces. The control of the money clothes its possessors with absolute power over a nation's industries." Referring to this remarkable admission on the part of Mr. Depew, a writer in the Arena exclaims: "What a travesty on the declaration that this is a government 'of the people, by the people, and for the people,' when fifty men can make beggars of seventy millions of people in twenty-four hours!" Next to this loss is in politics for the purchase of privi-lege. And just now he is so fully in fact in the situation is that the men control of both old parties that no mat- whom capitalism is placing over us as

our real masters and the arbiters of the nation are men who gain their power merely by the faculty for getting money, a faculty which in all ages and climes may exist in association with the meanest qualities of heart and soul. Of all forms of class government, an aristoeracy based on wealth is the worst. Of all ocracies a plutocracy is the most belittling to manhood and the monst dangerous to every interest of morals and religion.

Socialism is the simple straighforward proposition that the men who do the world's work shall have the full product of their labor. The reason why they cannot possibly obtain this under the present system is that the capitalist class control the machinery of production and are willing that the workers should receive only "living" wages which too often mean "starvation" wages. The amount and value of these wages depend upon how little the workers can subsist upon and on the price the capitalist puts upon the goods which the workers have produced and have to buy back from the capitalist. Hence the labor union alone cannot secure justice for the toiler. Even when the demand for higher wages is granted it is more than offset by the higher price which the worker is obliged to pay for the necessaries of life. Not until the people own collectively what they use collectively can the workers obtain what they are entitled to. And be it remembered that the working class also built the machinery of production, that they furnished the brains to invent and run it, and that they created the capital which the capitalist is said to have "invested" but which really represents what has been unjustly withheld from the working class. capitalist's part in the transactions of the present industrial system consists in "making money" by what is commonly called "shrewdness." But boiled down to hard fact it simply amounts to getting a portion (and the larger por-tion) of other men's labor without giving any equivalent for it. And this, no matter by what name it goes among "business" men, is dishonesty. Social ism proposes to make it impossible for men to "earn" money by wholesale plun-der. Its motto is: "Everybody accord-ing to his deeds." And the object of the Socialist party is "not to confiscate other people's property, but to stop con- tween the two? Can any bridge span fiscation entirely."

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

We have before us a copy of the (cago Interior, one of the most wil-circulated of church papers, in which a writer, discussing the "Domes writer, discussing the Service Problem," says: "What he brought about the present attitude women towards domestic service? A: not women of the upper classes chief to blame? — — The lower classe have followed this leading as far as possible." Here is an admission of the division of society into two disting classes, which this writer calls "upper and "lower." (And tihs in a "Christian" Much of what follows is iournal.) highly amusing to the Socialist wh must not be expected to sympathize to keenly with the "afflicted ladies" who eannot understand why their "help" will not remain with them "even the they are willing to pay good wages—far more than the same girl could earn in a fac-tory etc." Of course the trouble is largely due to the fact that the "hirel girl" belongs to a lower class than the "lady of the house" who makes the class lines painfully apparent to her. She may be very kind and generous, but never forgets that she does not belong to the same "station" in life which the "servant' 'occupies. So we may talk about the "dignity" of labor and boast of our democratic spirit, but class consciousness, of which this is but an instance, stands out prominently in our every day life.

Again, to those who are given to repeating the assertion that "the interestof the laborer and the capitalist are identical"-a commonplace that is heard in Republican and Democratic campaign speeches, we commend the following from Bishop Potter: "I have stood by the open excavation of the underground railway in New York city, looking at the men digging. They have told me that they got \$2 a day for fair days when the work could go on. Living is expensive in New York. These men are not the submerged; they are the men of brawn and health. They are the labor. I have gone through the corridors of the fashionable hotels at midnight hours and looked on the diners and winers. with liveried waiters obsequiously serv ing viands of all kinds. These are the 'employers.' Are the interests of the Can easy going two classes mutual? optimism conjure up any relation bethe chasm between them? When I go

pirough our factories and see fine, ableodied men, dexterous, earnest men orking nine hours a day every day nd every year a life through, fashionig the uncouth raw material of wood metal and marble into house nd naterial, I ask myself, 'Will the laborer ave any of these polished and luxurious ppliances in the home of his family, r will they only go to the well-to-do, nto the mansions of the rich-the emloyer class? Are the interests of the aborer and capitalist mutual?' Is there ny mutuality where one makes and the ther enjoys?"

Yet it is a common remark of the pologists for the present industrial sysem that in this country "we must reognize no class divisions." President Roosevelt and Secretary Cortelyou have ooth made a strong point of this in heir recent addresses though in the same breath they admit the existence of lasses by reference to "rich and poor." And Socialists have been severely criticized because they have insisted upon a frank recognotion of the class struggle, not to intensify class hatred, but to put an end to it. But our observation has been that nowhere does the class feeling manifest itself in such a pronounced form as among the very persons who deprecate any reference to a class struggle. It would seem that the motive for this hypocritical attitude is none other than the fear that the workers may come to see where their class interest lies and unite to assert their rights and abolish the injustice from which they suffer. This fear is the Socialists' hope. They do not create the class struggle, but they do seek awaken the class consciousness of the workers that they may act together and demand that the special privileges which have produced these artificial distinctions among men shall cease to be.

What could more clearly demonstrate the character of the class struggle than the attitude of the packers in the pres. ent Chicago strike? Men are asked (and it appears that large numbers are so hungry and naked, so near want that they are willing) to put themselves under the voke of these money lords for the pittance of \$6.50 a week, a wage upon which a man cannot live as an American citizen should, much less support a family. Many a man spends more than this per day on luxuries while the laborer is expected to meet all his household expenses with the same amount. The daily papers tell us that ment elsewhere and order at once.

Nelson Morris has left on an extended tour of Europe and that one of Armours is hobnobbing with princes and entertaning royalty on one of the most magnificent yachts ever built. The money which these millionaires are using, of course, rightfully belongs to their employees who are now demanding a slight increase in wages. What these two classes have in common?

To the Socialists, therefore, the growing tension between employers and employed, between capitalist and laborer. emphasizes the famous saying of Karl Marx that "the history of all society thus far is the history of class strife, and that it will continue to grow in virulence until "in place of the old capitalist society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." When, by means of the peaceful revolution of the ballot box, as Marx says, "the working class will have become the ruling class and have swept away the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antaognisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

Under Socialism there will be no masters, no slaves. The competitive class struggle will give way to mutualism and Justice will be possible. goodwill. men shall have the full product of their toil. That this is the only solution of the social problem is daily becoming clearer to thinking men. The present strikes and lockouts are, as President Donnelly says, convincing thousands of people that our economic salvation lies in the Co-operative Commonwealth. And they will vote the Socialist ticket.

The anti-trust planks in the platforms of the Repubocratic parties and anti-trust legislation of the capitalist Congress are about as effective as the fence we heard of the other day which is made of such crooked rails that every time a hog crawls through he comes out . on the same side.

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SOCIALISM AND THE HOME.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

OCIALISM is the natural outcome of the capitalist system.

It is made necessary by the development of economical ouditions; we shall have to comply with the new requirements or our civilization will perish. And all of our institutions will be present to be conformable with the new form of the

will by necessity have to conform with the new form of society, if they are to survive. Yet human society, being a living organism, grows from one phase of civilization into the other. It always retains what is good and possible. And from this standpoint alone the attacks heaped upon Socialism on account of its alleged antagonism to the home and of the family are ridiculous. Neither the Socialists, nor anybody else could "abolish" the home and the family. Some of the early Christians tried to do so—but they failed. They only succeeded later on in establishing monasteries and nunneries—and foundling asylums. And it is especially ridiculous when the Roman Catholic clergy—which is supposed to be without families and without homes of their own—accuse the Socialists (who have families and love them) of such intentions. The truth is the contrary.

Every man with a heart in his bosom should bless the advent of Socialism, simply on account of its effect on the lot of the woman. It will raise woman higher than Christianity ever did. Of course, I am acquainted with the caricature written by that German defender of capitalism, Eugene Richter, who in his "Sozialistische Zukunftsbilder" (Pietures of the Socialistic Future) tries to show how families are forcibly torn asunder, the husband being sent to one end of the country, the wife to another, and the children into the public nurseries. And that is the book from which our clerical friends get their wisdom on the "Socialistic future." But the truth is exactly the reverse. The "home and family" cry of our capitalistic advocates is a hypocritical sham. It is now that families are broken up. It is our present system that compels the wife and the daughter to go to the factory and the store and compete with the husband and father, where all three together do not earn more than the man did when alone. The home is not "abolished" but is-Socialism will have precisely the opposite effect. It will take wives and daughters out of the stores and factories and restore them to their homes.

Undoubtedly, some of the early Utopists are slightly responsible for the caricature, since they intended that all women should work in the public service, every one even to do her share of manual labor—thereby completely ignoring the idea of "function," the idea that everybody is o do the particular work for which he or she is best adapted by nature, ex, and training.

No. Modern Socialists have never claimed that all women will be n the service of the collectivity. In fact I do not believe that the najority of them ever will be, except in the sense then that they will be mothers and wives. But woman will have equal opportunities with nan—she does not have them now—we know that man does not have equality of opportunities. And since woman under Socialism will have ner "economic equality," this will make her the master of her fate. And this will not only be nominal—it will be such that she will be able to realize it whenever she thinks fit.

In other words in Socialist society most women will want to marry as now. I suppose, that as now so then the married woman, daughter and mother will want to be supported by husband, father and son. I am not a Bellamyite, I am for individuality, for privacy, and if Socialism were an enemy of these I should not advocate it.

But we must not overlook other features of Socialism. Kitchen drudgery for instance will pass away. In the center of every block in the cities and even in the villages in the midst of farms, the public kitchens with the most modern improvements, run by electricity etc., will be established, where food suiting every taste will be prepared, which will be quickly carried or sent into every home, if so desired. Of course, all of these are detail pictures of the future which I dislike to discuss. But it is evident that married women when they get all this leisure, will wish to utilize part of it in the service of the Commonwealth as physicians, teachers and other innumerable occupations which that Commonwealth will render necessary.

And besides, while in Socialist society most women will want to marry as now, there will be then as now the exceptional women who dislike marriage, or who have a particular aptitude for public service—they will be furnished *suitable* work. And furthermore, whenever a married woman, or a daughter will get tired of her dependence, all she will have to do is to ask to become a public functionary. As I stated before, Socialism will give every woman her full economic independence.

Therefore, I say, woman will not only be restored to home, but enabled to form a home. It will be the immense benefit of Socialism that it will enable every young loving couple to marry. Every man will not only be enabled, but encouraged and persuaded to marry when young. And this fact: that the young men marry is one of the greatest preservers of chastity with any people.

And lastly, these two benefits:—that all men marry young, at that all women who desire it will be furnished their occupation as proper remuneration by Socialist society—will radically abolish not on prostitution, but also that far greater evil of commercial marriages. To Mormons even have proven that prostitution can entirely be abolishedalthough the Roman Catholic church has never done so, as a matter of fact, it has never flourished so much as under the rule of the church in the middle ages and is even now in full bloom in Spain, France Italy, and Belgium, Catholic countries every one of them—but to # exact, it was the other good Christians who have restored prostitution to Utah. For it is surely the most shocking effect of our capitalistic system that it has degraded the marriage relation into a property relation and that this marriage often being a semi-prostitution itself always needs the full prostitution as a complement. And while it is bad enough that men are made means to others greed, it is surely worse that women are made means to their lust.

Socialism will do nothing less than tear prostitution up by the roots. Why should the Roman Catholic clergy oppose this? I say that this alone ought to be a sufficient blessing to move all pure men and especially those who believe in marriage and in raising a family to vote and fight for Socialism. It will be Victor L. Bergu. the salvation, and there is none other.

This country is groaning under the terrible corruption that infests its halls of legislation, but back of that corruption is found the "leading" citizen, the man of business, the man of investments and interests. Personally he might not bribe a legislator, but there are plenty of gobetweens to be had, and so the lobby exists and gets its nourishment from his pocketbook. Whenever the public gets sufficiently aroused to hold mass meetings, who sits on the stage as an honorary vice president but your very same "leading" citizen, looking so honorable, so virtuously anxious to see corruption throttled! He's an awful fraud.

-Social-Democratic Herald.

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believer in the human slaughter has imported 25 Porto Rican girls called war, wrote in one of his books to take the place of men requiring that "in the long run a Quaker living wages. The girls will get 50 might be as undesirable a citizen as cents a day. More "benevolent asa duelist." Roosevelt is a man of similation" at the expense of the dangerous ideals.

Teddy Roosevelt, who is a firm | The St. Louis cordage company working class!

WHY FARMERS SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS.

By CARL D. THOMPSON.

ear Socialism. There are very reat and very good reasons why II should be Socialists. But there special reasons, and especially trong ones why farmers should be. Pollowing are only a few of them:

1. Socialism will make the farmer nore secure in the possession of the and he needs to use.

It will not take the farmer's farm way from him. On the contrary apitalism is allowing the capitalists o monopolize more and more of the and, so it is becoming harder and larder for those who wish to enter farming to get the land; and harder for those who have it to keep it. 300,000,000 acres of land in the United States are already owned by foreign and domestic capitalists. The free land of the government is all gone now, and this is the first time in human history that this has been so. The railroads have gobbled up millions of acres; the coal, iron, gold and silver and oil trusts have millions more; the lumber trusts millions more; foreign landlords have millions more. And they are all reaching for still more. And on top of all this some few farmers more fortunate than the shrewder, more successful-get rich and so stand with the capitalists and also use capitalistic methods to exploit the others. They retire. Tenants take their place and have to pay rent.

So the problem of how to get and keep the use of land grows more difficult every year.

lic lands kept for the use of the until he gets it marketed.

No one who loves justice should foreign holdings; public irrigation plants would be built to reclaim arid land and this held for the people; rivers would be diked so as to reclaim millions of acres of alluvial land now destroyed by floods. this would be for the people and those who wanted land could get it on easy terms. without becoming slaves to private capitalists.

The farmer on the farm would be left in possession of the farm he

wished to use.

2. Under Socialism the farmer could get proper and necessary machinery at cost of producing it. The great international harvester trust, the steel trust and other monopolies concerned in the manufacturing of farm machinery, would be owned and operated by the government under Socialism. The farmer would therefore get his machinery at cost of production.

Under the present system, for the wagon that costs \$15,00 to make the farmer pays \$70.00. For the binder that costs \$47.00 to make the farmer must pay \$125.00; for the fork that costs 16 cts. to make the farmer must pay \$1.00. And so on. Because the private machinery trust must have profit. Under Socialism all machinery would be manufactured and sold at cost. Therefore the farmer could get better machinery and more of it, and thus his labor be greatly lightened and its effectiveness greatly increased.

3. Under Socialism the farmer would have a better and a certain market. After the farmer has raised Socialism would have all the pub- his produce it brings him no return Railroad grants would be there's another rub. On the way to recovered for the people; so also market the farmer meets several "circumstances." The first is the storage monopoly—they hold him up for storing his grain. Next he encounters the railroad companies. They charge him 10 times what it costs for freight. And then finally if he succeeds in running the gauntlet and gets his stuff to the market he finds when he gets there that the market is "unsteady." It is unsteady, because the gamblers on the stock exchange are manipulating it. But it is unsteady for another and deeper reason.

The market depends upon the consumption or demand of the people. 15,000,000 of the people are wage earners. Capitalism is robbing them of half the products of their toil. Hence they haven't the money to buy the things the farmer brings to market. So the robbery of the wage earner destroys the farmer's

market, or tends to do so.

The private monopoly, such as the meat trust, stands between the farmer and the wage worker, between the producer and consumer, and robs them both. On a single day it puts down the price of cattle to the farmer and puts up the price of meat to the consumer.

Under Socialism the railroads would be owned and operated by the collectivity. The farmer could ship his produce at cost of transportation. Elevators would be owned by the government. Storage at cost. Stock yards, slaughter houses, etc., and packing houses would be owned by the people. Thus the farmer could get his products to the consumers without being robbed at every step of the way by some private monopoly.

But most of all, every laborer un- the government. der Socialism will be getting the full products of his toil. They will wage earners can accomplish this therefore be always able to buy the alone. The whole voting strength

and so his market is secure. The wage worker and the the workers need Socialism.

4. Under Socialism all the necessaries of life the farmer must buy will be cheaper. The farmer must have sugar. The sugar trust is exacting enormous dividends of the people. The farmer must use oil. coal, lumber, nails, wire, clothing. All these and a thousand more things the farmer must have. But they are in the hands of the trusts. He must pay monopoly prices.

Under Socialism all these trusts would be owned by the people, and their products brought to all without the profit to the idle. All unearned incomes would be eliminated. The farmer would get what he must buy at cost of production. therefore the cost of his living would be greatly reduced.

How to Get Socialism.

But how is the farmer to get these things? There is but one way. He must join the working class in their struggle for Socialism. And there is but one way to get Socialism. First of all the powers of government must be wrested out of the hands of the capitalist class. control the political parties of today. They thereby control the legislatures, the courts and the officials, both city, state and national. capitalists are organized. The people are not. The capitalists supply the campaign funds that elect men to office. Therefore they control these men when elected.

So capitalism controls the government.

The working class must control

But neither the farmers nor the meat and bread the farmer raises of the agricultural class is only 40

per cent of the voters of the nation. The wage workers are only about 25 per cent. Neither can win alone. Both, united, are invincible. Wage 'vorkers will not join in a farmers' ight. Farmers will not join in a wage workers' fight. But both will ioin in the Socialist party, for Socialism saves them both. Socialism as their only salvation.

So the workers of the farm and the factory, workers of the country and city, of railway, mine, river and forest—the workers of the world must unite. They must form a solid working class political party. They must safeguard it against fusion, against compromise, and against country. treason, by reason of the initiative badly. referendum and imperative mandate. They must put the control of the party in the hands of its members and keep it there. All this the Socialists do. The farmer must join the Socialist party and help us establish the Cooperative Commonwealth. For the Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed towards the conscious organization of society.

Empty Stomachs vs. Millions.

A significant occurrence of the great textile strike in Fall River, Mass., where 20,000 poorly paid textile workers are pitting their empty stomachs against millionaire mill-owners to resist a reduction of wages, is announced in a dispatch that just previous to the ordering of the strike 17 families applied for admission to the county poorhouse. This mandate. They must put the conciety.

The Countess of Warwick was importuned by the British Social Service Institute to make common cause with it, and from her reply we select the following, as showing her undoubted clearness of vision:

"The experience and thought of me years have brought me to the cry definite conclusions: 1. That he disinherited must work out their vn salvation. 2. That they can do his only by combination. 3. That the full meaning and possibilities some years have brought me to the very definite conclusions: 1. That the disinherited must work out their own salvation. 2. That they can do this only by combination. 3. That if the full meaning and possibilities of combination are to be realized by

the workers, we must begin with the children, and bring within the reach of all the best educational opportunities. Such, then, being my convictions, I find coming to my hand much more work than, with other duties. I have ability to cope with. in joining with those who, with a self-sacrifice that is Christian in the highest sense, are working to build up the great labor movement, which is slowly, but surely, bringing message of hope to the victims of an unjust social system." The words of the countess ought to be brought to the attention of some well-meaning reformers we could name in this They need the message

the county poorhouse. This great Eastern contest bids fair to expose the greed and inhumanity of capitalism thoroughly as the Colorado struggle, with differences only in minor degree. It is a brutal system where men, women and children who produce the wealth are compelled to suffer that those who produce nothing but confiscate everything should enjoy all fruits of others' toil.—Cleveland Citizen.

How Socialism will Deal with Loafers and Tramps. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

"Under Socialism, what would you do with loafers?" some critic may ask. Remember that Socialism is not offered as a perfect system of life, but only as a very great improvement over the present system. The word loafer, I take it, means one who sponges on the earnings of other people. A leafer, then, may be a tramp without a shirt to his back, or he may be a landlord with a rent roll of half a million a year.

It is stated that there are over a million adult males in the United States in receipt of large incomes who never do any kind of work. In Co-operative Commonwealth these men might continue idle, but they certainly would not continue rich, nor would they continue to be known as "gentlemen." Besides the million well-paid and well-fed loafers who are at present supported by the earnings of the poor, there are now in this country immense numbers of paupers, beggars, tramps and criminals, and also a large army of unemployed workers. But before I tell you what Socialism would do with all these people, I must tell you what is doing with them now. Do you suppose that society does not support these loafers? They live. What do they live on?

All wealth is won by labor, is it not? Then all tramps, thieves, paupers, beggars and parasites live upon alms, prison-allowances or plunder, and all the means of support are produced by the labor of the working poor. Under our present system we not only feed and house these loafers, but we go to the expense of masters, matrons, doctors, wardens and police, all of whom

have to be fed and paid to wait upon and care for them.

Next, with regard to the unemployed—most of these people manage to exist, and they exist at the expense of those who work. Note one or two facts: these people can do nothing for their own support and many of them through want and shame and enforced idleness, become criminals or tramps. This is not only a waste of power, it is also a wicked and disgraceful waste of human souls.

Now let us see how things would work under Socialism.

We will divide our present loafers into two classes-those who could work but will not, and those who would work and cannot. So long as it is possible for a willing worker to be forced into idleness, so long will there exist a reason for the giving of alms. Why do we relieve a beggar in the street? Because we are never sure that the man is a shirker, hecause we always fear that his penury may be due to misfortune and not to laziness. In a socialistic state this doubt would disappear-socialism will provide work for all. fore, in the Co-operative Commonwealth every man who was able to work would be able to nobly live. This fact being universally understood, no able-bodied man could exist without working. tramp, or educated parasite, would be nothing but a shameful loafer. and not a hand would be held out to help him. The answer to the beggar or drone would be, "If you are hungry go to work." If the man refused to work he must starve-or.

getting its funds from capitalists it does not dare to inquire into the real cause, and therefore lavs it at the door of "pure cussedness." When men can scarcely support modern slave-pen themselves on wages, the marvel is that there are any American homes left at all.

send him to or the "work the dictum, "If a rk, neither shall he gidly enforced. So form the thief, make a beggar and cure the as under our present we make them into crimpers, or "gentlemen."

rding to Bulletin No. 51 of nited States Department of nited states \$118 to buy as much as \$92 would buy ten years ago.

It takes \$112 to buy as much lumber and other building material as \$90 would buy seven years ago.

It takes \$112 to buy as much in a drug store as \$87 would buy nine years ago.

In men's clothing it takes \$109 'huy as much as \$88 would 'rs ago.

verage, \$113 in your not buy as much as \$88 would 'rs ago.

verage, \$113 in your not buy as much 'en years ago.

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is the working class.

If the working class got its own, "business" would be unknown.-Metal Workers' Journal.

"Socialism Made Plain," by Allan L. Benson. A big book for Ten cents. It will make thousands of converts

EUGENE V. DEBS: THE MAN.

AN INTERVIEW WITH OUR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

(From the Terre Haute Star.)

The greatest living scientist, Alfred Russell Wallace, writing Parkstone, Dorset, England. last March paid the highest possible tribute to a Terre Hautean when he said: "Eugene Debs is a great man. With a few more such to teach and organize the people the cause of justice must prevail."

It has only been a few years since the name of Debs was synonymous with anarchy, according to the popular conception, and daintily scented men felt tainted in his presence. Today he is a candidate for president of the United States. He has lectured in almost every college in the country. He has attained a remarkable personal popularity in conservative Boston. He has averaged a speech a day for the last ten years and has come to be understood. However much men may disagree with his policy, they can not help but love the man. And in Terre Haute where he is best known the name "Gene Debs," is spoken with an affectionate inflection the "Gene."

That the readers of The Star might have a better acquaintance a fairer acquaintance with this unusual and interesting man a representative of the paper spent three delightful hours at Mr. Debs' home on north Eighth street the other afternoon. There was nothing on the outside of the house to suggest a spirit of anarchy or disorder. Vines half hid the porch, flowers struggles for an education. bloomed beside it. A canary bird outside the door made the air melodious.

The Library.

And in the library while awaiting Mr. Debs a rapid survey of the room told a similar story of refinement, order and culture. On the wall hung pictures of Hugo and Beethoven. On the mantle stood bronze busts of Rubens and Rem-On the book shelves were brant. the choicest books that have been bequeathed to the world by the geniuses of the ages. Hugo, Locke. Balzac. Shakespeare, Scott, Burns, Goethe, Browning, Swift, Ebers, Michelet, Maeterlinck, and similar authors told of a literary taste that explained the owner's personal popularity with so many of the literary giants and artistic men of the present day. Mr. Debs, who had been down town, entered the room with his arms full of papers and in his characteristically breezy fashion made his visitor feel unusually at home.

"Let's go up to my den," he said, with a smile, and up we went. It is a pleasant north room. Here is another library in which books on Socialism predominate, table covered with papers and manuscript. Close beside the table is a sewing machine and work table where Mrs. Debs works. It was an ideal arrangement.

With modesty, and at the porter's request, the candidate for president and foremost Socialist in America told the story of his early went to work when 14 years old in the Vandalia shops, and at 16 was

firing an engine. And yet he is to-

day one of the few men in public Brotherhood of Locomotive Firelife whose utterances are literature. How did he do it? In answer to this impertinent question Debs smiled and then looked serious. He cialist?" was asked. told feelingly of his intense humiliation when he quit school and realized that his class-mates were going ahead of him; of how hopeless the future looked, and black. He came to the conclusion that he would have to educate himself. For eighteen months, while firing an engine at life had been devoted to the cause night, he studied by day, read the poetry, best literature, history, magazines. In company with others he helped form the Occidental Literary club and became its most enthusastic member.

"I hear that The Star had some reference to my speech on 'Patrick Henry,' he observed smiling. 'I had almost forgotten it. It was most terrible experience of my life. The club had arranged for a public meeting at Corinthian hall at the northeast corner of Third The place was Wabash. packed. Father McEvoy was on the program and I expected him to take up most of the time. My consternation was heartrending when I learned that he was not to speak, and that the whole burden was on me. I remember how great beads of perspiration came out on my forehead. The sight of the audience almost paralyzed me. The audience was sympathetic and made it as easy as possible, and when I concluded they saw how crest-fallen I was and pushed about me and told me how I had distinguished myself. I knew better, and that night I went home through the alleys. But like all the rest, I determined that one really day they should hear me speak."

Elected to Legislature.

secretary and treasurer of the Grand |you stand that?"

men and Engineers. In 1884 he was elected to the legislature.

"And how did you become a So-

Again he looked serious and intense. The light—a peculiar light —came into his eyes. He thought a moment and replied:

"It was when the A. R. U. strike failed. I was in jail. And while in jail I thought and read. My whole of organized labor. I realized then that when the final test came that capital would always triumph-because it has the government. I concluded that permanent help could only come through the overthrow of the capitalist system. Victor L: Berger of Milwaukee, teacher German in the schools brought me Karl Marx's "Capital." Here it is now (and he took it off a shelf). Here is the inscription. That man Berger and that book "Capital" converted me. soon as my mind became receptive it all came to me in a flood. ism is today my religion."

It was a short time after this that Debs became intimate with brilliant New York journalist, John Swinton, who died about a year ago. Swinton was at heart a Socialist. He realized the herculean nature of the task that Debs had set himself to do.

"Have you the courage?" asked.

Debs assured him that he had. and was prepared for anything that might come.

"Oh yes," answered Swinton, "I could always stand to have those I attacked turn upon me. I expected

that. But when those I loved and had worked for turned upon me, it For thirteen years Mr. Debs was was that that broke my spirit. Can

Again a firm affirmative reply.

"How long will you live?" asked Swinton. "You will be dead in two vears."

"I shall live until I fulfill my that may be," mission, whatever said Debs.

About a year ago Debs stood by the bedside of the dying Swinton and received his benediction.

Future of Socialism.

"And what of the future of your cause?" was asked by the reporter.

"A remarkable change is taking place. We are now admitted to the ing tribute to the spirit of Boston. great metropolitan press. The Independent and the Literary Digest have written me for articles. This will be an epoch-making year for Socialism. The article of Lawson on 'Amalgamated Copper' will make thousands of Socialists. The capitalists themselves are destroying themselves."

"How do you account for your popularity in conservative Boston?" was asked.

"I must tell you of my experience before the Twentieth Century club. the most exclusive of Boston," he replied with a smile. "It was just after the strike when most people thought I was a monster of depravity. I spoke before a packed house in Faneuil hall. The next day I a note from Edwin B. Mead, editor of the New England Magazine, saying that he had heard me and would like to have me talk before the Twentieth Century club of which he was president. When the time came it was ladies' day. We all sat down to the table. The Mead cream of Boston was there. had me next to him. No one knew who I was. At length Mead rose and said that he had a guest for gilded prison, a doomed dungeon. asked indulgence—one much hated and misunderstood. He then introduced me.

He Charmed Boston.

"You should have seen the expression on those people's faces. It was just such an occasion as breaks a man all up or brings to the surface all his latent strength. I realized that they hated me and didn't know why. And I never felt more kindly toward people in my life. In five minutes I had dispelled that hate. And at the end of minutes I concluded they were my friends, and are my friends today."

He then went on to pay a glow-

"I see you have Dixon's books-'The Leopard Spots' and his attack on Socialism," observed the reporter.

"Dixon is brilliant, resourceful. but sentimental, and his books will not have a permanent place in literature," he said forcibly. "No man can write his name in immortal letters who takes the ground that one race was created to be the bondsmen of another race." Then followed one of the most bitter attacks on slavery-and most brilliant—the writer ever heard.

"It does not matter Creator has sown with ether and decked the earth countless beauties for man's enjoyment. It does not matter that air and ocean teem with wonders of innumerable forms of life to challenge man's admiration and investigation. It does not matter that spreads forth all her scenes beauty and gladness and pours forth the melodies of her myriad tongue! voices for man's delectation. liberty is ostracized and exiled, man is a slave, and the world rolls in space and whirls around the sun a and though painted in all the enchanting hues that infinite art could command, it must stand forth a

blotch amidst the singing spheres of the siderial heavens, and those who cull from the vocabularies of nations, living or dead, their flashing phrases with which to apostrophize liberty are engaged in perpetuating the most stupendous delusion the ages have known. Strike down liberty, no matter by what subtle and infernal art the deed is done, the spinal cord of humanity is sundered and the world is paralyzed by the indescribable crime."

An Admirer of Hugo.

"I notice you are an admirer of Hugo," was the next impertment observation.

"Ah, he was the champion of 'Les Miserables.' He was a great soul. He was always on the side of those who needed him. Do you remember in 'The Man Who Laughs' the bitter satire on man? The wolf and the man—and the man's plea to the wolf, 'And whatever you may do, Homo, never degenerate into a man?'"

"Mitchell's 'French Revolution' I believe is about the only work on the subject tinged with Socialism,"

suggested the reporter.

"No, Gronlund's 'Ca Ira' is more He was a great genius-Gron-I knew him well. He literlund. alv famished. He came to country and lectured. Just after I got out of jail he gave me the manuscript of his book recently published by Stone, but I was too poor myself to do anything with it. A short time before he died he wrote me that Hearst had given him a position on his New York paper. In patheticaly said that he could now at least feed his poor body, and said that many times he had contemplated suicide."

"How do you dissipate?" was asked. "You are fond of the drama, I believe?"

"Oh, very fond of the drama. Tf I had the time I would be a constant patron of the drama. I think the stage is one of the great educators. It has the great advantage over some educational agencies of entertaiing and refreshing while instructing and elevating. You can rest your body and nourish spiritual organism. I believe the stage has a great future. It is evolving, undergoing great changes, and is to become a generally recognized factor in the intellectual and spiritual development of the race."

Just now Mr. Debs is working seventeen hours every day. He is at work at five in the morning and works until ten at night. After a cold water bath he begins work and continues until breakfast. During the day he writes. From seven at night until ten he reads. Mrs. Debs is companion and advisor—a charming woman. James Whitcomb Riley, who is a great friend of Mr. Debs, has been a frequent guest at the Debs home.

Mr. Debs shows his French extraction in his conversation. He is intense, enthusiastic, eloquent, fluent, and much given to gestures. He speaks all over—so to speak—with his hands, arms, body. His eyes are wonderfully expressive. And whatever he may be politically, he is a charming, fascinating and very lovable man personally.

"Sorry I have no cigar to offer you," he said apologetically, as the reporter was leaving. "Will have one next time. Well, it's good-bye and good luck, and come again."

If instead of paying wages in money the workers were paid with a fraction of their product it wouldn't be so easy to fool them as to the iniquity and the robbery of the wage system.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

The few have much; the many have little. Can you conscientiously defend such a system?

Slaves have a habit of hugging their chains, some of them. Are you one of that class of beings?

A person in pain is sick. Every groan that rises from the walks of the workers is a certificate that the social system is sick.

Pitiful indeed is the case of the man who thinks he knows all about Socialism from reading capitalistic editorials.

The capitalists' public spirit is centered in his pocketbook. Watch and see if this is not true in all his actions.

Nearly twelve thousand boys under 16 are employed in the coal mines, according to official reports. And the plutes boast that this is a Christian nation!

Thousands of gaping corpses of workingmen lie stark upon the Eastern battlefields, workingmen of Russia and workingmen of Japan—a testimonial to the "merciful" workings of the capitalist system.

The worth of war! "Great Conflicts are Still Necessary to Human Progress," says Progress of Minneapolis. But it fails to explain that the reason why wars are still necessary is because we live under the capitalist system. It is by means of wars that capitalism extends its domain and therefore its ability to run its full course.

The national convention of the Federation of Catholic Societies by resolution urged Catholic workingmen to form rival unions to the established trade organizations, in order to divide and therefore weaken the trade union movement in the interests of capitalism.

Postal automobiles are being put to use in Denmark. This is much better than making the street cars a part of the mail system and thus enabling the companies to hide behind the government when its wage slaves muster up spunk enough to rebel at inhuman conditions of work.

The Russians lost one thousand men at Kiao Tung. Think of the expense, the solicitude and the labor that it took to bring these thousand men to the perfection of manhood, and think of the homes their death leaves unprotected! And these men were forced to go out to try to shoot down others with whom they had no quarrel whatever, and whom they had never met before. Strange, isn't it!

After hammering away for several months, and being ready for several further moves, the Socialists in the Milwaukee city council have forced the ice combine, which threatened the public health by its extortions, to come down in its price. But the capitulation of the ice barons will not end the struggle for municipal ice. The legislature will be appealed to for the necessary permission for the city to engage in the ice business and the agitation will not cease until the city is free of the yearly menace of the icy-hearted capitalists.

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT.

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor.

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M, Chicago.

LET'S TALK IT OVER.

W. S. B. asks if Socialists are ignorant of the fact that "competition is the life of trade." Space will not permit lengthy discussion of this question in this issue, but I would remark that trusts seem to disprove this old statement. her query as to what could take the place of competition in a Co-oper-Commonwealth. reply: Emulation, which is the soul of the trade of life, as it will better the condition of all.

B. E. C. wishes to know whether I seriously believe that most women reason differently than men. Most certainly I do. As a class, we are prone to reason from I to us. takes much training to enable us to reason abstractly.

L. B. C. asks whether I think the old parties would, under any possible combination of circumstances, give us women suffrage. Yes, I believe that when the combined strength of the old parties is not sufficient to ward off Socialism, one or both will gladly give suffrage to women, as they will believe this is throwing a large conservative force against the new movement. one of many reasons why I consider it a vital matter that we educate women to see the injustice of present conditions now.

J. T. B. asks why I dwell so often on the dark side of present condiwhich is to be. A good physician hour day. At this maximum rate

diagnoses the case before prescrib-There are too many women who do not yet know that there is any disease in the body politic. They must be forced to see the truth. No. I am not a pessimist, quite the contrary. I know a brighter day is coming and it is darkest just before dawn.

N. M. wishes to know if I can give her some figures as to rates of payment on ready made clothing. She has come to the correct source, for I think I know what sweat shops (and their substitute the tenement system) are as well as any woman in the United States. Most humane beings would feel uncomfortable if they could investigate the system under which the clothes upon their backs are made. Trousers that retail for seven and eight dollars a pair are made by women who receive fifteen cents a pair for all sizes over 32 in. length; thirteen cents for men's sizes shorter than this; eleven for youths. This is the average throughout the U.S. for the better sorts of such piece-work sent out from factories. The women who do this work provide their own sewingmachines and fuel to heat irons. Not infrequently they climb four or five flights of stairs to get a bundle of these trousers—each bundle containing three pairs. Omitting any deduction for time spent in going for and returning the work, the woman does not live who can finish tions, instead of painting the time more than six pairs in an eighteen

five she cannot make more than cents an hour, out of which must pay for wear and tear on her machine, and her own living penses. No other article of men's wearing apparel (of the ready-made variety) pays so well as trousers. I'll refer to rates on women's clothing in a later issue.

B. T. wishes a simple "catchy" method of stating overproduction in a way apt to fix itself in the minds of an unthinking audience. Years ago I came near losing an editorial position by giving a definition which I yet see no reason to change. The one I then gave was: "Over-producunder-consumption. means that workers are reduced to beggary, not because of any exhaustion of nature's resources, but because they have done work. That people starve because there is too much food waiting to be sold; go naked, because too much cloth has been manufactured; freeze, because too much fuel has been mined. This is over-production, which shuts down work and expects the worker to hibernate, or live on charity, until such time as this surplus has been used by the more fortunate, or until a few thousand folk can be killed off in some benevolent war which will open up foreign markets."

- C. C. S. asks why I recommend McClure's pamphlet on Socialism. Because it is a most excellent singlesitting exposition of facts. Read it and you will agree with me.
- S. H. inquires: "Why do you Socialists say workers are worse off sometimes when wages are higher?" If I earn three dollars a day under circumstances which permit me to live comfortably on two, I can save one dollar each day. If I earn four 'dollars under conditions which ne- can he would have taken the whole hog."

cessitate the expenditure of every penny of my earnings for the same comforts, I am three hundred good dollars worse off at the end of the year in which I earn four a day than I am when I earned three dollars. Have you seen Carroll Wright's latest statement as to prices of commodities? Look that up and then remember that the real wage can only be measured by its purchasing power.

MR. BRYAN'S POSITION.

Friends and countrymen, let's trust him-

Let's endeavor to elect him,

Though he's not a man of truth-Though his cause is far from just; I have put away all rancor As I promised them I would. I am for the splendid ticket, Though it isn't any good.

Let us gird ourselves for battle-But I hope we cannot win-Let us pray to be successful, Though success would be a sin; Let us give the people's banner Unto him to nobly bear, But it's dangerous to do it,

For he isn't on the square.

Let us wave our hats for Parker, The poor tool of foxy Dave; Let us rest our hopes upon him, Though he's Mammon's cringing slave!

Let us raise him up to power, Help to send him whooping through. But remember-here I warn you-

You'll be sorry if you do. -S. E. Kiser.

About the only remaining difference between the Republican and Democratic parties is well illustrated by the following story: Two farmers in the country met one morning when farmer Duncas (who is a Democrat) said 3 farmer Blosser (who is a Republican): "Say, Blosser, a Democrat broke into my smoke-house last night and stole a half hog." "I am surprised to hear you admit," said Blosser, "that a Democrat would steal. How do you know the thief was a Democrat?" "Because," replied Duncan, "had he been a Republi-



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Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists ave formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Boylston Bldg., 260 Deachers 3t Chicago III.

269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST TICKET:



FOR PRESIDENT: EUGENE V. DEBS of Indiana.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT: BEN. HANFORD of New York.

SOCIALIST PARTY NEWS.

Comrade Debs will formally open the campaign at Indianapolis on Thursday, September 1st and plans are under way to make the meeting a record breaking one in every respect. All the locals in Indiana are being invited to participate. Dates following Indianapolis are already arranged as follows: Sept. 3, Louisville, Ky.; 4, Joint Demonstration by Cincinnati, Covington and Newport; 5, Erie Pa. (Labor Day); 6, New York City; 7, Baltimore, Md.; 8, Wheeling, W. Va.; 11, St. Louis, Mo.

Comrade Debs will then go South filling seven dates in the principal industrial centers of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas, after which he will start west from Kansas City, for the Pacific coast. He and Hanford are booked for a monster meeting in the Chicago Auditorium on Oct 17, the only meeting at which both candidates will speak together.

After Hanford has filled dates in the

he makes Chicago for the joint meeting on Oct. 17. He will then go into the western states while Debs is in the East and finishing the campaign on the Pacific coast.

Except at a few important points, Hanford will not visit the same cities where Debs is booked. In the meanwhile all the cities and towns must not expect to get either or both candidates during the same campaign, as it is impossible for them to visit all the places that want them.

The Debs and Hanford lithographs and buttons will soon be ready for shipment. Comrades should wait to see these before buying elsewhere. They will be the best in quality and the cheapest in price, besides being the official lithographs and buttons of the campaign.

Franklin H. Wentworth has placed himself at the disposal of the National Headquarters for lecture dates Sept. 1 until Nov. 7. From Sept. 1 to 15 he will work under the direction of the New York State Committee. Wentworth can give at least a month in the Western States and applications should be filed at once.

John Spargo is booked on his Western tour as follows: Aug. 29-31, New York State; Sept. 1, Franklin, Pa.; 3, Cleveland, O.; 4, Toledo, O.; 6, Chicago; 7, Rockford, Ill.; 8, Dubuque, Ia.; 11, Omaha, Neb.; 13, Denver, Colo.

The national secretary is preparing to issue Comrade Debs' speech at the opening meeting of the campaign at Indianapolis in booklet form, uniform with "What Workingmen's Votes Can Do" and "Speeches of Acceptance," but with 32 pages. The booklet will be ready Sept. 2 and can be sent in to be filled on that date. Price 5 cents, \$2.00 a 100, prepaid. Every local should order at least 100 copies at once and South and West he will return to the literary agents should order a supply East, speaking in that territory until as there will doubtless be demand for it.

"The dead level proposed by Socialism" is a figment of the capitalist mind. It has no existence in the teaching of a single accredited exponent of scientific Socialism. Those who throw off such phrases exhibit their ignorance of the whole subject. Yet a religious weekly commences an article with the sentence: "Socialism would reduce all men and all classes of men to the same level" would be difficult to state more accurately what Socialism would not do, for it aims to put an end to the present dead level of wage slavery and give all men equal opportunity to rise according to their individual ability and worth. The Chicago Record-Herald rightly says that "individualism is threatened with extinction under the present system." Is it too much to ask the religious press to study Socialism before it attempts to discuss the matter?

There is danger of a rupture in the Republican fold in North Dakota, judging from the following from a party organ of that state: "What is anarchy? It is simply without or against government. The very trusts that rob the people of this country are anarchists. They defy not only the moral laws, but the actial statutes of the country. Believe us, brethren, anarchy—the horrid, bloody anarchy of Europe may never get a footing here-but a worse than that is with us. The life of one ruler. or one statesman may be taken and still the nation may live. But take the nation's life away in the continual infringement of the nation's rights and laws and we are with an anarchy that cannot be curbed or controlled. Who fears a few filthy, wild talking, hard drinking plotters in some dark haunt in a city? Who may not fear the wellgroomed, clear-headed rascal who sits in his office and boldly advances to do as he will regardless of what the people will?.... Socialism has won for itself a very respectable place amongst us. The fact of the matter is that Socialism is going to win more of a place than ever unless this anarchy is curbed. If men will not conduct the great industries without allowing their greed to lead them on to anarchy some day the people will put in power a set of Socialists who will place the coal mines, the railroads, the oil wells, the telegraph, the tele. phone and a hundred other great enterprises in the hands of the government." religion than that!

********** Babies or Dogs. which?

Chicago, Aug. 6.—"Take mother out of the packing house, so we can have her care at home." Two hundred little children, dressed in white and waving tiny flags, bore this appeal on placards as they marched at the head of the women workers in the strikers' parade of 40,000 unionists that surrounded the beleagued packing town in formidable but peaceable array today."-Press Dispatch.

You innocent baby, don't you know that if your mother was given time to hold you in her lap, as she would love to do, that some of her sisters would not be able to iewelled dogs in their laps. You little anarchist, do you want to uproot the foundations of society!-New Time.

Under the guise of fighting Socialism, certain clerics who rule the destinies of the Federation of Catholic Societies are stirring up a fight on the public school system which is bound to react on them with no little force. These men believe that school education that is not saturated with their dogmas opens the minds of our youth and makes them reasonable enough to recognize the truths of Socialism. and their idea of education consists in stuffing the children with their dogmas when they are not vet matured in judgment, thus confessing their own fear that said cannot appeal to people when their reason has become mature. ought to have more faith in their

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party, Chicago, May 5, 1904.

E, the Socialist Party, in convention E, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist assembled, make our appeal

have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty Our state and national legislatures have they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think

of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own in-

terests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life. Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working

of private property in the means of life. Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working or the tools of production. Wherever

class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intel-lectual and political tyranny inevitable. Socialism comes to so organize indus-try and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his lib-certy of being thought and action de-

erty of being, thought and action de-pend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry rule of its universal condition. Industry rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalists to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalists for the control of the yet un-exploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers. of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all human-

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development and grown to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly sepa-rating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses la-bor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty and increasing economic uncertainty, physical and intellectual misery, as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not

and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic indethe things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labors of scores, or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in proor continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization. civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The socialist program is not a theory The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The capitalism of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industhe rapidly socializing forces of indus-try. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal in-crease of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehentrades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement

of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of sotoward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things

profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to

every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the coperative commonwealth operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediatinterest of the working class, for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values the proceeds to be applied to the public the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation. popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and nor whatever immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we weath. Such measures of reflet as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all the workers of America, and to all the pation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all whe will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to castheir lot and faith with the Socialist Party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at one an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blassoming of our common humanity. In sponwish means that an those things the the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for down of the whole man.

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